

TOP STORY: SEARCHING FOR TRUE NORTH IN VIRGINIA
October 17-30, 1994

IN THESE TIMES

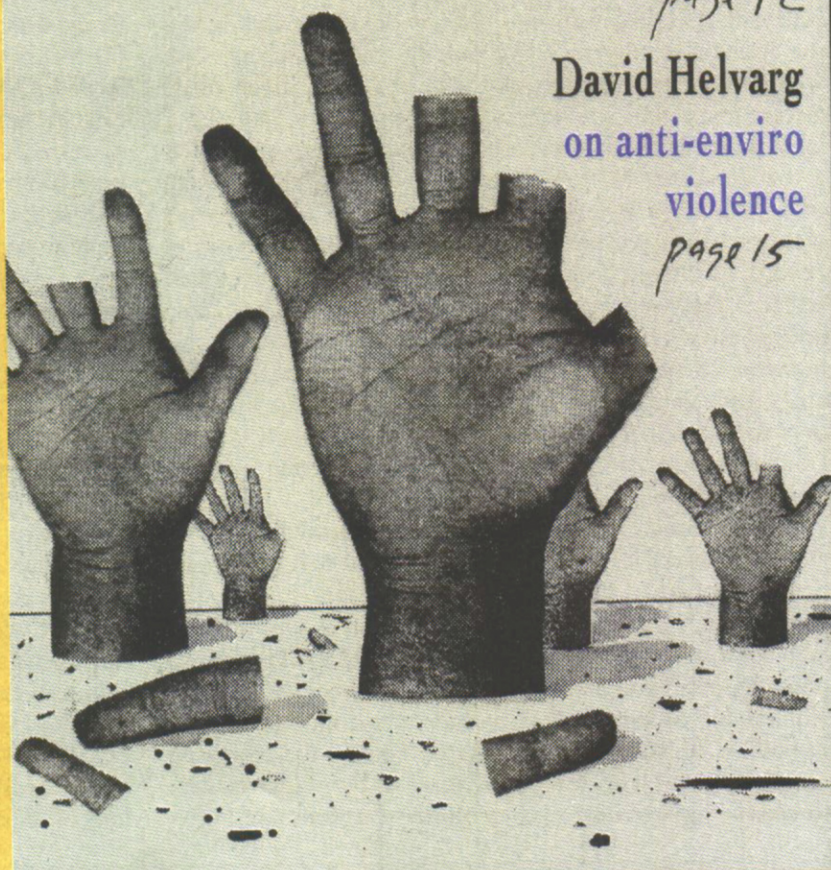
the alternative newsmagazine

HOSTILE ENVIRONMENT

Counting
casualties in
the war
against the
greens

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E D I T O R I A L

AT LAST, A DECISIVE MOVE

Though initially hamstrung by Jimmy Carter's friendly arrangement with Lt. Gen. Raoul Cédras, American troops finally raided the headquarters of Haiti's paramilitary enforcers, known as FRAPH, on October 3. Before the U.S. occupation of Haiti, FRAPH head man Emmanuel "Toto" Constant had boasted that his 20,000 members each had at least one bullet for an American soldier. Yet until early October, American troops were ordered to stand by and watch while the "attachés," as members of FRAPH are known, beat and shot unarmed demonstrators to death on the streets of Port-au-Prince.

Astoundingly, the American high command seemed to believe that Haiti's army and police would curb and disarm the attachés, whom they had recently been supplying with weapons in anticipation of a U.S. invasion. Even more astoundingly, U.S. military officials apparently believed a tale told by Bobby Lecord, a well-known attaché arrested at a roadblock for carrying guns. Lecord had informed them of a pro-Aristide terrorist training camp stashed with weapons in a wooded area of Port-au-Prince. Taking Lecord, an alleged drug dealer, at his word, U.S. forces then staged a massive raid on a 30-acre compound. They came equipped with tanks, armed personnel carriers and humvees, carried aerial maps of the area, strung barbed wire around the entire compound and brought in search dogs—only to discover that the site was the home of a Katherine Dunham dance troupe, which was busy rehearsing an Afro-Caribbean routine.

Until this raid, the U.S. high command seemed to believe attaché leaders like Constant, who claimed that "[t]he real people that have the guns are not me. It's the left, the extreme left." Despite the absurdity of such claims, the U.S. high command had insisted that it was up to the Haitians to police themselves—as if the police and attachés were simply maintaining order. This policy had caused increased anger in both Haiti and the United States. Finally, the mounting criticism, as well as the humiliation at the dance center, forced the high command to conform its actions to Clinton

administration rhetoric.

The past three years have seen the unfolding of a unique process in the annals of American foreign policy. First, President Bush denounced the September 1991 coup that ousted Haitian President Jean-Bertrand Aristide from power. Bush gave rhetorical support to democracy in Haiti—but had he been re-elected, he would certainly have done nothing for Aristide. Clinton, who has a strong electoral base among African-Americans, had to appear more committed to Aristide's return. He campaigned as a champion of Haitian democracy. Yet at every point since his election it appeared that he, too, would find a way to let Aristide die on the vine.

This, however, has proven impossible in the post-Cold War world. Despite what, in an unguarded moment, the *New York Times* called the U.S. Army's "natural inclination ... to protect property and order," American forces now find themselves protecting the Haitian people against a "tiny elite whose wealth is largely the product of exploitation and corruption." This is unprecedented in the entire history of U.S. relations with its Southern neighbors, and, except for its relations with South Africa, in its relations with the entire Third World.

Haiti and South Africa are, of course, quite different. But they have two things in common. First, both countries have been of special interest to African-Americans, who, along with other progressive forces, were largely responsible for making Washington act. And second, each country is proof in its own way of economist John Maynard Keynes' belief that in the movement of history, the power of vested interests is often forced to give way before the gradual encroachment of ideas. In South Africa it was the idea of civil rights and formal equality that finally had to be honored by the international community, despite the close ties of the local ruling class to that of Europe and the United States. And in Haiti, despite similar ruling class ties, it was the idea—put forth tirelessly throughout the Cold War by liberals and conservatives alike—of the sacredness of political democracy.

Whether this unique victory can be repeated in the struggles that lie ahead in Central and South America remains unknown. In few, if any, of those countries are conditions so stark or the issues so clear. And without a highly politicized Hispanic community in the United States, the people in Latin America remain more vulnerable. Even so, in the future it will certainly be more difficult for Washington to side openly with the assassins.

In any case, now that police chief Michel François has fled Haiti, leaving the army and attachés in apparent disarray, the issue facing the country no longer seems to be Aristide's safety but the rebuilding of the economy along the lines of social justice. ◀

IN THESE TIMES

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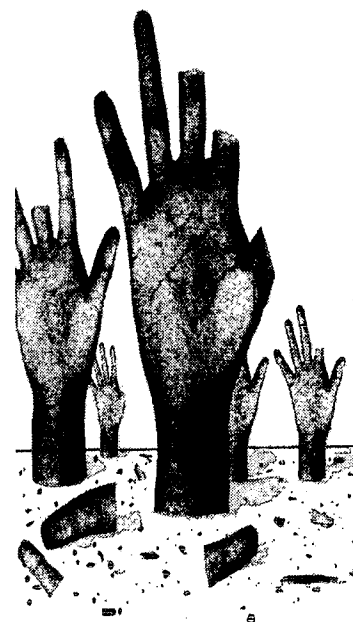
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L E T T E R S

Population bust

Will Nixon's article on population (*ITT*, September 5) is a piece worthy of any mediocre right-wing think tank.

Malthus is not, or should not be, the center of any discussion of the so-called "population problem." That plagiarizing baboon, as Karl Marx so aptly named him, is irrelevant to the discussion. There is more than enough food in the world to feed every human being adequately. As Amartya Sen notes in *The New York Review of Books* (September 22), there is no "subsistence problem" and the alleged crisis in food production is "imaginary."

Naturally, right-wingers and religious fundamentalists—if for different reasons—deny that there is a problem and are opposed to any social interference in the way things are going. They

believe or want others to believe that all is for the best when left in the invisible hands of the Market-God. We know where they are coming from, and going.

Nixon quotes scientists such as Donella Meadows, calling them "Neo-Malthusians." But this is to distort and to trivialize their analyses and conclusions. Most of them—Paul Ehrlich excepted—see the basic problem as one of an inefficient, inequitable, reckless and destructive global capitalist economic system and a resource-gorging "First World."

Not population "growth" *per se* but heedless uncontrolled "economic growth" is at the root of both our ecological and our social problems. Equitable sharing of necessary economic goods, produced in an environmentally sound and sustainable fashion, and the real liberation, education and empow-

erment of women would quickly result in the stabilization of population. This is going on at present, by the way: population growth is slowing.

But the key is a democratically controlled and directed economy.

Gerald Cavanaugh
Ashland, Ore.

Wrong example

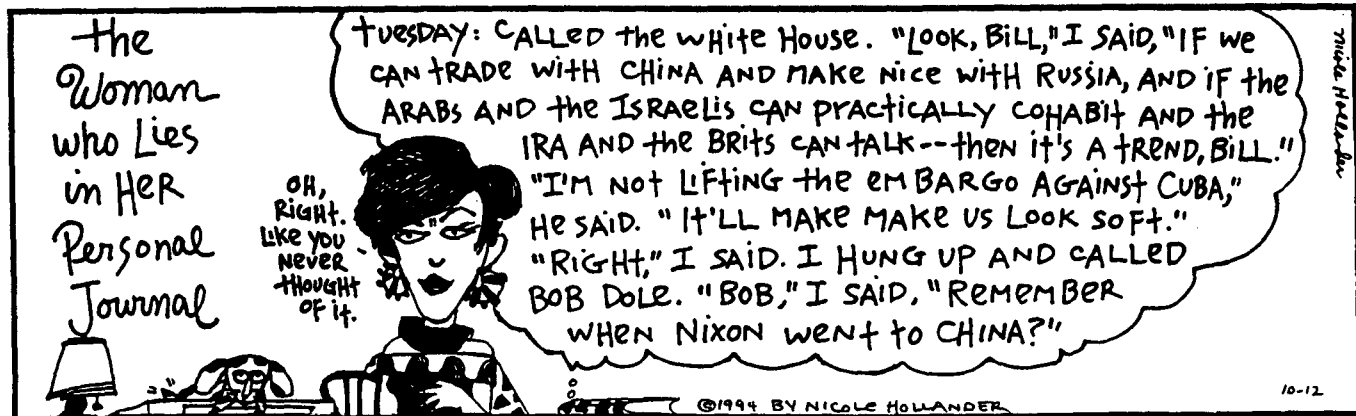
In "Crowded Out" (*ITT*, September 5) Will Nixon quotes a misleading statement made by Alex Marshall of the United Nations Population Fund. Marshall says, "In the Netherlands, people live comfortably with a density similar to that in Bangladesh." In their book *The Population Explosion* Paul and Anne Ehrlich refer to this perception as the "Netherlands Fallacy." According to them, the Netherlands can support 1,000 people to the square mile only because the rest of the world does not.

Holland is essentially a nation of middlemen that prospers by siphoning off the wealth and energy of other countries. Much of their land is devoted to growing tulips because that's where the money is. Anyone interested in preserving biodiversity or guiding mankind away from its love affair with materialism shouldn't hold the Netherlands up as a shining example to be emulated.

Thomas Brown

SYLVIA

by Nicole Hollander



Changing Cuba

Having just returned from living and working in Cuba for the past 12 months, I was interested in reading Rick Rockwell's article "Island in mid-stream" (*ITT*, August 8). I applaud Rockwell's attempt to present more subtle realities of Cuba than the black-and-white images that appear in the mainstream press. But Rockwell is a bit romantic in his notion of how the Cuban socialist revolution might survive the profound economic crisis brought on by the fall of its former allies and the Clinton policy of strangulation.

To meet the greatest economic challenge of its history, the Cuban government has adopted measures that have had inevitably negative consequences. Perhaps Cuban leaders are overly optimistic in their projection that these consequences are temporary, but Rockwell's biting tone suggests that he believes the government is insensitive to their negative effects, and his critique is unduly harsh given the limited options available to the government.

The impact of the U.S. embargo should not be trivialized. Most Cubans agree with economist Pedro Monreal, whom Rockwell quotes as saying "[we] cannot blame the embargo for everything." Although the onset of the crisis cannot be attributed to the embargo, it is not "a minor factor" in the prospects for the economy. With the disappearance of the socialist bloc, Cuba lost 85 percent of its foreign trade. It has had to move extremely quickly to reorganize its foreign commerce to make up for this huge deficit. It has had to raise hard currency to pay for the 6.5 million tons of oil it purchases. The economy previously counted on 13 million tons in barter with the Soviet Union.

Rep. Robert Torricelli (D-NJ), the chief sponsor of the most recent embargo restrictions, has estimated that the measures impose a 15 percent tax on all Cuban commerce. For an economy in crisis—or any economy—that impact is profound and could very

well thwart recovery. Moreover, the United States has actively sought to discourage businesses in third countries from dealing with or investing in Cuba. The United States directly interfered with Cuba's negotiations with Colombia for the purchase of oil.

In addition to external factors, sugar profits, Cuba's main source of hard currency, plunged in the last two years due to falling world prices and diminished harvests battered by bad weather and energy shortages. Tourism has become a major source of economic growth because it is the sector most attractive to foreign capital. Earnings from tourism enable the cash-strapped country to purchase food, medicine, fertilizers and oil.

Yes, there is growing prostitution as a result of foreign tourists with fat wallets, but it is not like in the days of Batista when prostitution was controlled by drug lords and pimps. Today's prostitutes are independent and seek to spend an evening, weekend, or even a week with a foreign companion who will buy them food and clothing. Nor, in all of my recent visits to the famous Tropicana Nightclub with my curious lefty U.S. visitors, have I seen any topless dancers.

Inequalities have re-emerged as a consequence of the growing black market, receipt of dollar tips by those working in tourism, and a budding managerial class that benefits from the mixed enterprises formed with foreign businesses. Other measures have also produced inequalities: the legalization of the dollar, the entrance of cash remittances from family members abroad (shut off again as a result of Clinton's new get-tough policy) and the expansion of areas of self-employment.

There is growing discontent over the effects of these policies. It is difficult, however, to see how Cuba could avoid adopting such measures and still obtain the hard currency necessary to survive. Rockwell suggests no alternatives.

On the positive side, there is increasing debate in a variety of forums on a wide range of issues

including constitutional rights, women's equality, the structure of Cuban enterprises and the nature of socialism. Unfortunately, this debate is not presented to the general public, but it does not take place behind closed doors either. Moreover, Cuba's environmental policy receives high marks from U.S. ecologists. Further, the climate for homosexuals has improved greatly, resulting from increased openness and acceptance in the popular culture. The policy of forced residence at state-run sanatoriums of those who are HIV-positive has been eliminated in favor of outpatient care, and those who choose to leave the sanatorium are guaranteed continued care and a special diet.

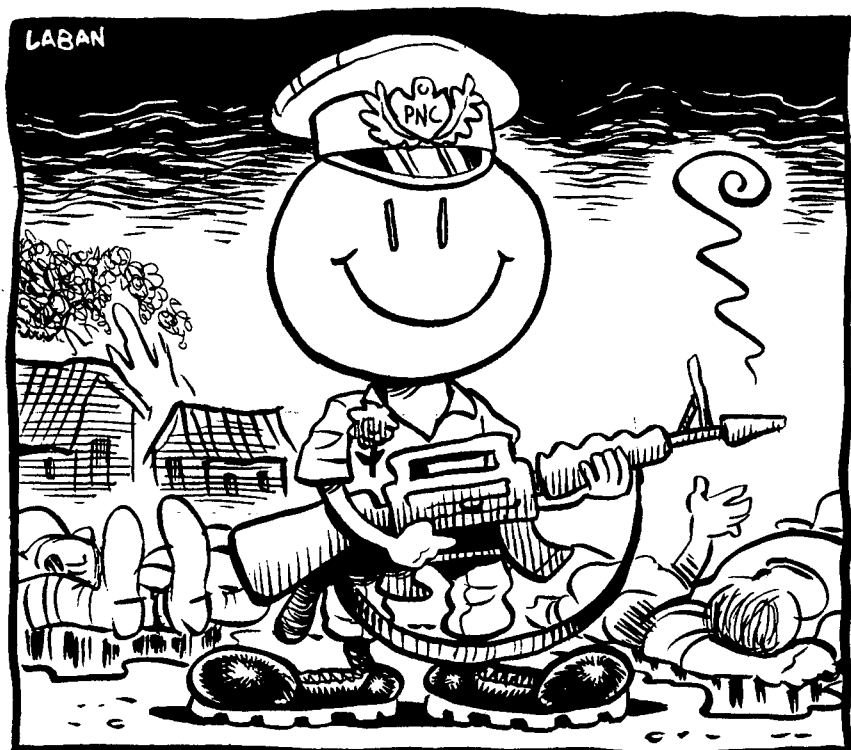
Still, the situation is extremely grave, demoralization is widespread, and many find flight their best hope. To resolve the crisis, some Cuban economists assert that Cuba must inevitably move toward a mixed economy—but, they argue, steps in that direction should be gradual to avoid the turmoil and corruption that have enveloped Russia and other members of the former socialist bloc. Everyone holds fast to the objective of preserving the gains of the revolution in providing universal health care and education while at the same time preventing further economic inequalities.

Debra Evenson
Chicago

The writer is author of Revolution in the Balance: Law and Society in Contemporary Cuba (Westview Press, 1994).

Editor's note: Please try to keep letters under 250 words in length. Otherwise we may have to make drastic cuts, which may change what you wished to say. Also, if possible, please type and double-space letters—or at least write clearly and with wide margins.

InSHORT



©TERRY LABAN

EL SALVADOR'S NEW POLICE ENCOUNTER OLD PROBLEMS

Above San Salvador's slums in the well-heeled Escalon neighborhood, sits the air-conditioned headquarters of El Salvador's new police force, the National Civilian Police (PNC). The young cops at the gate are cordial. And journalists are received with black coffee and given PNC lapel pins.

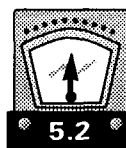
The PNC, a creation of the 1992 peace accords that ended the country's 12-year civil war, is a far cry from the military police who have long terrorized most Salvadorans. Working under the auspices of the United Nations Mission to El Salvador (ONUSAL), the PNC officers—with their cream-colored shirts, professional demeanor and tidy white Toyota trucks—clash with the image of the country's remaining military police, who still swagger through San Salvador's markets in black jumpsuits and cruise its slums in American sedans with M-16s at the ready.



Do you smell something?

Months after a leaky Philadelphia Gas Works main exploded and destroyed his house,

Hector Alarcon continued to get gas bills. "[T]he utility continues to estimate his



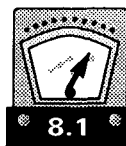
fuel consumption as though his house were still intact," the *Philadelphia Inquirer* recently reported. The bills even threatened to add a finance charge for late payment.

Let a thousand mortuaries bloom

About 8,700 people died as a result of industrial accidents

last year in

China's Guangdong province, according to the Hong Kong-based *South*



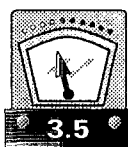
China Morning Post. But Chinese officials are reluctant to improve safety conditions for fear they might scare off Hong Kong investors. As a Chinese Labor Ministry official told the *Post*, "We cannot block [these investments] just for safety's sake."

Tampon capitalism

Strapped for cash, the Yaren-sky logging company in the north of Russia has resorted

to paying its lumberjacks with packages of tampons.

"Because of corporate debts and delays in delivering cash to some regions," Reuters reports, "some Russian enterprises are paying employees with products that can be then traded. Tampons, a valuable commodity fairly new to Russia, are rare outside the main cities and have a high cash value."



Armpit diplomacy

A high school administrator in Bossier City, La., recently took it upon herself to promote the cause of international understanding—by writing a letter



to 16 exchange students telling them that they smelled. In her own travels in Europe, school counselor Gene Self explained, she discovered that most of the natives were less hygienic than the typical American. "Americans seemed to pay more attention to appearance," she wrote in the letter. "They were well groomed, neat, squeaky clean. The boys were clean-shaven with short hair. No one looked like Andre Agassi."

Stunned by a stupid statement? Nauseated by a noxious news item? Livid about a ludicrous lie? Contact the Appall-O-Meter, In These Times, 2040 N. Milwaukee, Chicago, IL 60647.

APPALL-O-METER SCALE

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3. Plausibly deniable
4. L.A.P.D. blue
5. Bob Dole-icious
6. Raoul Cédras-tic
7. Ollie North nasty
8. Holiday in Rwanda
9. Zhirinovskyesque
10. Where have you gone, Joe Goebbels?

The U.N.'s 1992 Truth Commission reported that all three of El Salvador's military police forces—the National Police, the National Guard and the infamous Treasury Police—were responsible for torturing, killing and "disappearing" thousands of Salvadoran community leaders, priests and political organizers. Today, 3,000 National Police are all that remain of those military forces, and the organization is scheduled to be disbanded in November.

According to the peace accords, the PNC should include 20 percent former military police, 20 percent former Farabundo Marti National Liberation Front (FMLN) guerrillas, and 60 percent unaffiliated civilians. However, the FMLN's difficulty in mustering troops who could meet the PNC's ninth-grade educational requirement delayed the ex-guerrillas from filling their quota. And both the right and left have accused one another of smuggling in more officers than the 20 percent allowed.

Nevertheless, relations between former guerrillas and former military police within the PNC appear to be good. So far the PNC seems to be functioning as a professional public-safety force and not as an organ of state terror. Most people throughout El Salvador view the new police with relief and respect. As one young man in the poor neighborhood of San Ramon said, "This is the first time we've had police who investigate crimes rather than commit them."

But all is not well within the PNC. "The new police are not as new as we would like," says former left-wing presidential candidate Rubén Zamora, whose brother was murdered by state-sponsored death squads in the mid-'80s. "Contamination by elements of the old security forces is a real problem."

Observers like Zamora fear that some of the most violent and corrupt officers from the old military police are being incorporated—without any retraining at the PNC's internationally supervised police academy—into the new civilian force. They are especially upset that the National Police's 430-member Special Anti-Narcotics Unit and 140-member Special Investigations Unit were both incorporated into the new civilian police force.

"These two units are a disaster," laments Maria Julia Hernandez, who heads the human rights office of San Salvador's Roman Catholic archdiocese. "Their track records are so bad that the Truth Commission said they should be abolished and that none of their members should ever be police again. ... Their presence in the PNC is a total violation of the peace accords."

But the PNC counters charges of contamination by noting that it was the FMLN who agreed to allow more National Police to be integrated into the new civilian-controlled force. The FMLN maintains that it is better to have these two national police units under some sort of institutional control than to risk their conversion into freelance right-wing armies.

But just as many Salvadorans were beginning to believe that the National Police could be reformed under new leadership, a spectacular mid-morning bank heist on June 22 convinced them otherwise. For over 10 minutes, nine gunmen, most outfitted in National Police uniforms and bullet-proof vests, raked the Banco Comercio with automatic-weapon fire. As one of them sprayed the inside of the bank with an M-16, killing two, another crouched behind him guarding his back in military fashion. The perpetrators also left four security guards dead, executing several of the wounded guards with coup-de-grâce shots as they fled.

A TV crew that happened to be passing by caught the whole robbery on video. The tape revealed that among the culprits was Jose Coreas Orellana, chief of criminal investigation for the National Police. Had he not been caught on video, Orellana would have been the very officer in charge of investigating

the robbery.

In the face of this televised crime, even far-right Salvadoran President Calderón Sol admitted that the National Police had to go, leading him to agree to the force's demobilization in November. But with virtually all of ONUSAL's observers scheduled to leave El Salvador by December, many fear that the former military police within the PNC will revert to their old tactics. A recent ONUSAL human rights report noted a disturbing correlation between the increasing frequency of human rights abuses by the PNC and the growing number of former military police within its ranks.

During the last days of August, the PNC was called in to put down nationwide prison riots. At the time, 70 percent of the prisoners in jail were awaiting trial, and many prisons were at 200 percent capacity. More than 30 inmates died in the riots. Ominously, many prisoners had been killed by high-caliber bullets, probably from PNC guns.

—Christian Parenti

STRIKING OVERTIME

We got everything we wanted," said a jubilant Dave Yettaw, president of UAW Local 599, whose late September strike against General Motors forced the automaker to reduce the stress of overtime work at its big Buick City plant in Flint, Mich. GM agreed to hire nearly 800 additional workers, cut workloads and stop the outsourcing of some production. These moves have reduced the strain on Local 599 workers, but overtime itself has not ended.

All across the United States, corporations are running their factories at full throttle with workers averaging 4.4 hours a week of overtime, a record high in recent decades. In some industries, such as auto, 60-hour workweeks are not uncommon. Though employment has picked up considerably, what began as a "jobless recovery" is still generating far fewer jobs than should be expected at this point in the business cycle. One key reason is excessive overtime. For example, if all manufacturing workers now put in 40-hour workweeks, the nation's factories could employ more than 1.4 million additional workers. That would knock the official unemployment rate down by more than 1 point to 5.4 percent.

Some overtime work may be inevitable during peak periods. Also, there are always some workers who relish the overtime, partly to compensate for past layoffs, to reduce anxieties about the future, or to counter the declining value of their wages. Yet employers are the driving force behind—and main beneficiaries of—the rising overtime. It cuts their costs, since paying time and a half is cheaper than hiring new workers and paying for their benefits. It increases an employer's flexibility, and it reduces costs in the next downturn, especially when contracts—such as those in the auto industry—provide income protection for laid-off workers.

The pressure to hire more workers and trim workloads will likely spread in the auto industry, even though the auto companies prefer increasing overtime or hiring temporary workers—who are used widely at the non-union American plants of foreign companies and even in some UAW factories. Wall Street wants car manufacturers—especially GM—to reduce the number of

MEDIA BEAT

By Pat Aufderheide

Whittled away

Chris Whittle's place-based advertising empire is crumbling. His *Special Reports*, a TV show that was broadcast in doctors' waiting rooms, is gone; his private school franchise plan is frozen; and Channel One—the controversial school-based news network, complete with commercials—is on the block. K-III Communications, which is owned by the investment banking firm of Kohlberg, Kravis, Roberts, wants to acquire Channel One. But even if Whittle sells, the opponents of in-school commercial television—including the National Education Association and the organization UNPLUG—plan to continue to campaign against Channel One.

Big talk

Whittle's not the only one who's had to delay grand plans for making a killing in postmodern media. The Macy's shopping channel, once considered to be an important test of the future of retailing on television, is considering folding. The newly merged corporation is no longer sure it wants to be a pioneer of the cyberbazaar. Meanwhile Time Warner's trial of interactive TV in Orlando, Fla.—grandly touted for years as a testing ground for tomorrow's television—still hasn't worked out enough technical glitches to hook up a single customer. It has pretty effectively tested the patience of

advertisers, some of whom are ready to leave.

Generous GM

General Motors has enhanced its relationship with public television by providing all-out support for Ken Burns' documentary series *Baseball*. In *Advertising Age*, Burns calls GM "the most enlightened underwriter I've ever come across." GM understands—in a way public TV programmers often can't afford to—that promotion is crucial. The giant carmaker has sunk millions into ads and other promotional gambits for the series. The payoff is in respectable ratings and in long-term benefits. For instance, GM has paid for educational materials to go into more than 40,000 schools.

GM thinks the association with quality is good business, because, as its ad director explained, "the PBS audience is largely made up of thought leaders and peer-group influencers." This is the approach Herb Schmertz, then of Mobil Oil, pioneered with the oil company's design of *Masterpiece Theater*; it's sometimes called "ambush advertising," because underwriting gets behind the defenses of a hard-to-reach, suspicious-of-advertising audience.

And by the way...

Parents who have gagged on the treacly quality of Barney may or may not be cheered by the news that the producers are introducing negative emotions such as jealousy and anger into the shows.

© 1994 Pat Aufderheide

hours required to produce each car. The auto companies have relied heavily on driving their employees harder, but they have also shown that they can reduce production costs by simplifying car designs and streamlining manufacturing processes.

The labor movement could win points with both members and non-union workers if it launched a campaign for fair labor standards legislation that would reduce overwork by forcing employers to pay double-time for overtime, and setting a minimum vacation standard—at least two weeks per year. But any changes in the law would also have to extend benefits to part-time and temporary workers. It's not just an issue of sharing the work—and wealth—but an issue of family values as well. Who can reasonably handle family life and community affairs with long hours of overtime?

For the UAW, the Flint strike represented a small but significant step back from the concessions that the union granted during the auto crisis of the early '80s. Though Local 599 has been split between factions allied with the international union administration and the UAW's dissident New Directions Movement, in which Yettaw is a key figure, local leaders were united in this battle. They also received solid backing from international vice president Stephen Yokich, who by supporting the Flint workers further enhanced his already strong chances to be elected next year as the new union president.

—David Moberg

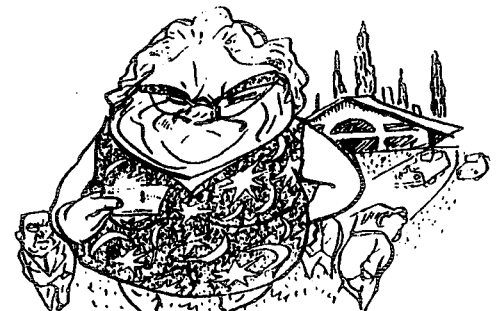
Tomorrow's News Tonight

By Steve Brodner

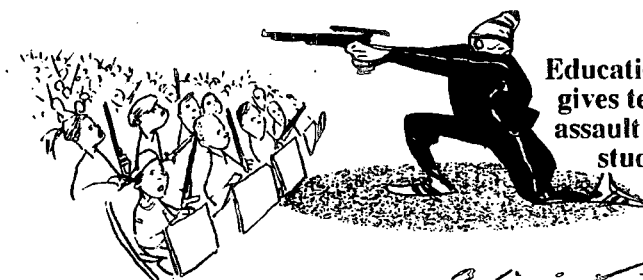
Springtime for Republicans

Hot Agenda Items for the New GOP Majority

Crime Bill of 1995:
Allows interactive
TV executions
(hosted by Phil Donahue)

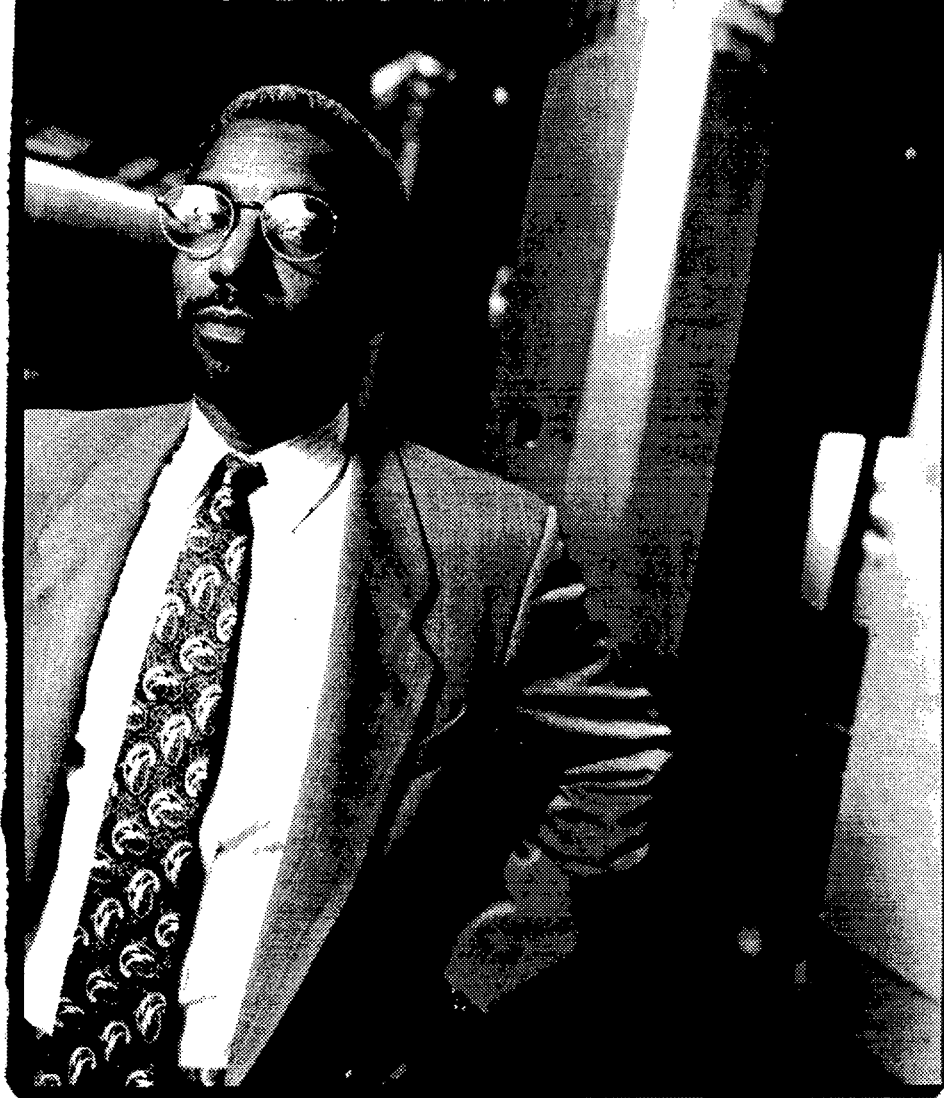


Welfare Reform Act of 1996:
increases subsidies for
mothers of defense contractors.



Education Act of 1995:
gives teachers bigger
assault weapons than
students have.

IN PERSON



TO THE ROOT OF VIOLENCE

John Holton begins his search

fatefully to his current position as site director for the Project on Human Development in Chicago Neighborhoods.

Holton describes the eight-year project as one of the most ambitious, most generously funded and most painstakingly designed research studies ever. It is directed by the Harvard School of Public Health, and funded by the John D. and Catherine T. MacArthur Foundation and the National Institute of Justice. Holton's task is to coordinate in-depth interviews with some 11,000 individuals in the quest for answers to the urgent and intractable problem of violence, its origins and persistence in urban life today.

Raised by college-educated parents committed to social change, Holton's

John Holton looks more like an Old Testament prophet than a social scientist. At 44, he says he never followed a conscious career path, but looking back he agrees that everything he's done seems to have led

ETC.

By Jim McNeill

Onward, capitalist soldiers

This summer, the Institution for World Capitalism held its second annual Freedom and the Press Workshop, a seminar for aspiring journalists from the nation's universities. The Institution, an independent—and this seems suspicious for a capitalist outfit—"non-profit" educational organization, is based at Jacksonville University in Florida.

At the Institution's workshop, Charles Wiley, a representative from the conservative press watchdog group Accuracy in Media (AIM), delivered a scathing attack on the mainstream media's alleged tendency to engage in advocacy journalism.

"A journalist's job is not to save the world ... [but] to supply information to a free people so they can save the world," Wiley told his audience at the Institution—which itself "advocates capitalism as the best economic system for improving the standard of living of people around the world."

Wiley complained that today's reporters spend too little time seeking objective information and too much time conducting advocacy campaigns—presumably on behalf of the left-liberal causes AIM loathes.

But the comments of the mainstream journalists who attended the Institution's panel on free markets and the free press suggest that AIM can rest easy—socialist advocates seem unlikely to creep into the nation's newsrooms anytime soon.

"[U]ltimately what we are in

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is a business," said John Zarrella, CNN's Miami bureau chief, "and we are in business to make money."

Zarrella blasted the federal government's recent "cable re-regulation." He noted that CNN had been relegated to higher channels in many markets, apparently leading to a drop in the network's ratings. "Now is that fair?" Zarrella asked. "Not from our point of view. It isn't."

Matt Walsh, *Forbes* magazine's Atlanta bureau chief, argued that the government should cede all control over the airwaves to the free market. "The government's role in broadcasting media should be ... get out of the way," said Walsh.

Of course, in 1927, when the government last abdicated all control over broadcasting, chaos erupted on the nation's airwaves—with competing stations jamming one another's signals by attempting to use the same channel.

But Walsh insisted that Americans would benefit from the return of unbridled competition. "If you have more stations, you have more broadcasters competing for that advertising dollar," Walsh said. "The more you have, the more it is going to bring down those ad rates and, in the end, that benefits consumers." Walsh acknowledged that "this is very theoretical."

An edited transcript of the panel discussion appeared in the summer issue of the Institution's newsletter, *World Capitalism Review*, which is available—free. Send your name and address to the Institution for World Capitalism, 2800 University Boulevard North, Jacksonville, FL 32211.

first job was in Philadelphia as a teacher of pre-adolescents and adolescents. Holton single-handedly organized and ran a school for run-away teenagers that he named the Angela Davis School for Social and Political Thought. In that setting, he was exposed for the first time to issues he would revisit again and again in the course of his professional life—impulsivity, anti-social and self-destructive behavior, child abuse and neglect.

After teaching, Holton studied environmental psychology at Penn State, laboring under the illusion that higher education concerned the pursuit of truth. Despite his disillusionment, he persevered, moving to Chicago while working on his dissertation.

Though he says he originally came to Chicago "on bad advice," he now accepts the city on its own terms, and has stopped trying to figure out why it's cold out even when the sun is shining. He views Chicago as a city with a remarkable potential, almost but not quite realized, for the coming together of an incredible diversity of people.

Holton initially turned down the job as site director of the Neighborhoods Project. He had found most social science weak and one-dimensional. Besides, the project's research focused on failure, and he hated to see people fail—especially when, as he put it, "the faces of failure are the faces of black men."

But when Holton read a paper about the proposed research by Tony Earls of the Harvard School of Public Health, a co-director of the project, he abruptly changed his mind. The project was of such magnitude, and involved so much risk and challenge, he couldn't resist. He was struck, also, with the commitment of the researchers not just to collect data for its own sake, but to make their findings available as soon as possible to policy-makers who were working to reverse the deterioration and isolation of the most desperate urban communities.

The project hopes to uncover the deeper causes of anti-social behavior by seeking out just what it is in the life of a community that promotes the development of socially competent, successful individuals. Holton doesn't believe that the answers are necessarily the obvious ones; the problems cannot be reduced to an economic bottom line. "We demean the spirit of people," he explains, "if we believe poverty necessarily generates certain deficiencies."

Over the eight years of the project, which begins this fall, teams of carefully trained interviewers will follow the lives of randomly chosen individuals under the age of 24 who live in a wide range of city neighborhoods. The project will try to place each individual within a series of concentric settings—family, friends, neighborhood, community. Because the research design has built-in controls for factors like race and income, Holton and his staff and supervisors are hopeful that they can discover just what combination of circumstances leads to the failure of one person and the success of another.

On a personal level, Holton deals with the same issues on his own, raising a teenage son and coming home every night to the West Side neighborhood where he has chosen to live. He talks about stereotypes, particularly racial ones, and how they entrap us all.

In the end, says Holton, "The hardest thing for me is not this project. The hard part is trying to figure out what to say to my soon-to-be-17-year-old son. That, plus how to negotiate from the bus stop to my doorstep, walking past kids who look like me 20 years ago, but I don't know what is on their minds."

Holton, speaking slowly and thoughtfully, pauses before he continues: "Everybody suffers from crime and violence. Anything can happen, anything goes. Democracy? Give me a break."

—Susan Kimmelman

THE FIRST STONE

DIRTY TRICKS ARE HERE AGAIN

By Joel Bleifuss

On May 24, 1990, Earth First! organizers Judi Bari and Darryl Cherney were traveling to Santa Cruz, Ca., to recruit students for Redwood Summer, a season-long action to save the vanishing old-growth forests of northern California from indiscriminate logging.

But that organizing was rudely interrupted. Bari, then age 40, was driving her Subaru wagon through Oakland when a pipe bomb that had been placed under the driver's seat exploded. The blast blew shrapnel from the pipe and finishing nails that had been taped to the bomb up through the cushion of the driver's seat, shattering Bari's pelvis and pulverizing her lower back. Cherney, riding next to her, escaped with cuts to the face.

Later, Bari recalled, "I didn't know such pain existed. I tried to think of my children's faces to find a reason to stay alive, but the pain was too great, and I couldn't picture them. I wanted to die. I begged the paramedics to put me out."

Twelve hours after the blast, when she regained consciousness, Bari found two Oakland policemen standing by her hospital bed. She had been arrested while undergoing surgery and charged with transporting explosives. Eight weeks later the Alameda County District Attorney dropped all charges against Bari and Cherney.

"There was just nothing to support those charges," said a staff member of the district attorney's office, who spoke to *Covert Action* magazine last year after requesting anonymity. "In fact, by mid-June it had become apparent to many of us that the evidence pointed to an opposite conclusion. But none of the police agencies involved were willing to move things in the direction of an attempted-murder investigation.

Some of the law enforcement people we were dealing with were so insistent that the Earth First! people had to be guilty, regardless of the known facts, that some of us began to feel they were trying to manipulate us into pursuing the case for reasons other than legitimate criminal prosecution. You never want to believe that things like that can happen, but they do. And they can get really ugly."

Although the DA dropped the charges, the FBI's San Francisco office spent two and a half years trying to pin the blame on Bari, whom they branded a "special interest terrorist."

That spring, prior to the bombing, Northern California Earth First! had publicly embraced non-violence and had begun organizing for Redwood Summer.

The group, which drew its inspiration for the campaign from Mississippi Summer, the 1964 civil rights action that saw thousands of Yankee youths head south to join the struggle for racial equality, was threatening to unleash legions of Earth First! demonstrators. Their actions, which included laying down in the path of logging trucks and chaining themselves to trees, posed an unprecedented threat

to Maxxam, Louisiana-Pacific and Georgia-Pacific, the timber companies that were destroying California's old-growth forests.

Eager to protect corporate interests, the FBI—rather than seriously investigating who really might have planted the bomb—used the clear and present danger posed by this newly invented breed of terrorist to justify a far-flung intelligence operation against the burgeoning environmental movement in northern California.

Bari claims that during its investigation of the bombing the FBI "lied and falsified evidence," and that this tampering began as soon as the

Bureau's International/Domestic Terrorism Squad reached the scene of the crime.

According to a sworn deposition by Oakland Police Sgt. Mike Sitterud, the FBI agents at the site of the explosion said Bari and Cherney "were the types of people who would be involved in carrying a bomb. ... They told us that these people in fact qualified as terrorists."

Local police who examined Bari's car after the explosion determined that the bomb had been placed under the driver's seat. Yet, despite the fact that a hole had been blown directly under Bari's seat, experts on the FBI's Terrorism Squad insisted that the bomb had been behind the seat in plain view



of both Bari and Cherney. Consequently, the FBI argued that Bari and Cherney must have known they were transporting the explosive. The FBI's determination of the bomb's placement was crucial to the decision to file charges against Bari and Cherney. As an Oakland policeman said at a news conference announcing their arrest, "The decision to arrest was based on the placement of the device in the vehicle."

The absurdity of the FBI's case against Bari is underscored by the fact that the bomb, an anti-personnel device, had a trigger that was activated by car motion. As Bari wryly observes, the FBI would have one believe that "not only are Earth Firsters violent terrorists who carry bombs around in our cars, but we are stupid, violent terrorists who hide live anti-personnel bombs under our own car seats."

In May 1991, Bari filed suit against the FBI. The case is now in the discovery phase, heading for trial in March 1995. At first the Bureau sought to have the suit dismissed. But last January, a three-judge panel of the 9th U.S. Circuit Court of Appeals unanimously ruled that Bari could sue the FBI. Judge Pamela Ryder wrote in her opinion, "[Bari's] complaint contains specific factual allegations that tend to show the FBI agents intended to interfere with Bari and Cherney's First Amendment rights to demonstrate and communicate their message about the environment." The FBI has declined to comment on the case, citing "pending litigation."

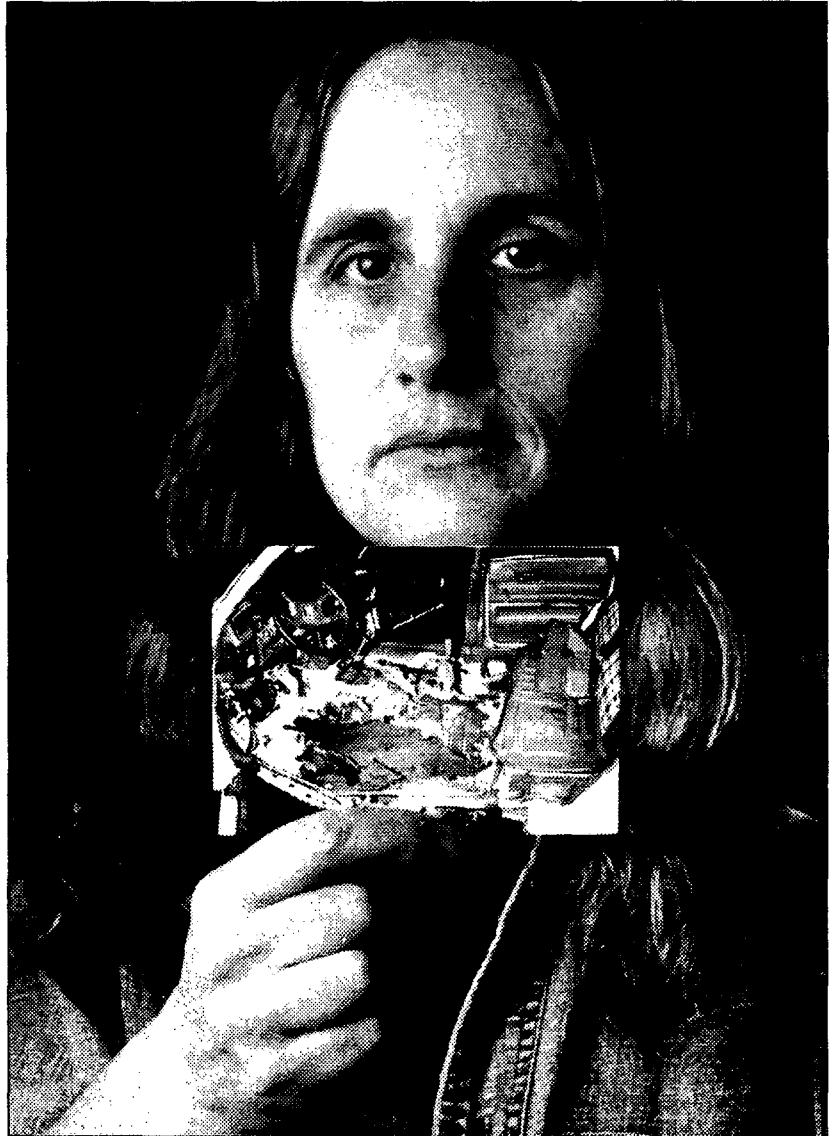
These allegations of FBI interference could become the subject of an inquiry by the House Subcommittee on Civil and Constitutional Rights. The subcommittee has already begun a preliminary probe of the FBI's actions in the case. Bari has hopes that hearings will be held when Congress convenes next year. And earlier this month, an editorial in the *Press Democrat* in Santa Rosa called for that inquiry to continue, saying "the case should be of interest to Attorney General Janet Reno as well. After all, FBI attempts to undermine dissident groups are hardly unprecedented."

A public airing of the affair would help undo some of the damage done by irresponsible press reports that in the aftermath of the bombing uncritically accepted the FBI's arguments. The *San Jose Mercury News* opened its bombing story this way: "Two members of the radical environmental group Earth First! were injured Thursday by their own pipe bomb." Or as a TV newscaster put it, "Earth First! leaders hurt in a pipe bomb explosion have no one but themselves to blame for their injuries."

One of the few reporters who did not jump on the FBI's bandwagon was Mike Geniella, who at the time of the

bombing was covering the timber beat for the *New York Times*-owned *Press Democrat*. In an August 12, 1990 investigative report, Geniella critically examined the FBI's nationwide offensive against the "special interest terrorists" of Earth First!

Geniella pointed out that the Bureau's obsessive interest in Earth First! dated back to 1988, when the FBI began Operation ThermCon, a campaign to infiltrate Earth First!



Judi Bari

in Arizona. He explained how the FBI had "built a weak conspiracy case in Arizona against Earth First! co-founder Dave Foreman for his alleged role in the plot to disable nuclear power plants." The ThermCon sting revolved around an FBI operative within Earth First! who was the driving force behind plans to sabotage power lines. At the subsequent trial, the defense entered as evidence an FBI audiotape that featured an undercover agent explaining that the Bureau wanted to "pop" Foreman in order "to send a message."

Geniella's article infuriated the head of the FBI's San Francisco office, Richard Held. According to an internal FBI memo released under court order, Held wrote FBI Director William Sessions two days after Geniella's story was published, saying: "The FBI as an agency should respond directly to the parent newspaper, the *New York Times*. ... In the event that headquarters does not wish to address this matter directly, [I] will, by separate letter, bring this inaccurate reporting to the attention of the editor of the *Press Democrat*."

Within two weeks, Geniella was suspended from the timber beat. The publicly stated reason for his suspension was that he discussed the *Press Democrat's* coverage of Redwood Summer in an unauthorized interview with the *Anderson Valley Advertiser*, a muckraking northern California weekly. Geniella says that his editors told him the interview raised the "possibility of a perceived bias."

But the most damning part of Geniella's story, as far as the FBI was concerned, was his reporting that environmental leaders and civil libertarians were accusing "the FBI of orchestrating a campaign aimed at discrediting a mushrooming radical environmental movement."

Indeed, the FBI's actions in the Bari bombing are strikingly reminiscent of the tactics used years ago by the FBI's domestic counterintelligence program, known as COIN-

TELPRO. In 1967, FBI Director J. Edgar Hoover wrote that the purpose of COINTELPRO was to "disrupt, misdirect, isolate and neutralize" political dissidents. The FBI has since disbanded the program. But Bari and others close to the case believe that while COINTELPRO may be officially dead, the dirty tactics are not.

In fact, Bari believes the FBI was targeting her in much the same way that it had persecuted dissident groups such as the Black Panther Party in the '60s and the American Indian Movement (AIM) in the '70s. And perhaps not coincidentally, one veteran of the FBI's campaigns against both the Panthers and AIM was Richard Held.

In November 1991, a year and a half after the bombing, Held and his agents, hot on the tracks of "special interest terrorists," had compiled a list of about 150 Earth First! supporters in northern California. The San Francisco FBI, following orders from Held, then widened its net to include 634 people around the United States who had received long-distance calls from Earth First! leaders. And so FBI agents across the country compiled the names, addresses, places of employment, physical descriptions, criminal records and political associations of citizens whose only crime was to have received a phone call from Earth First!

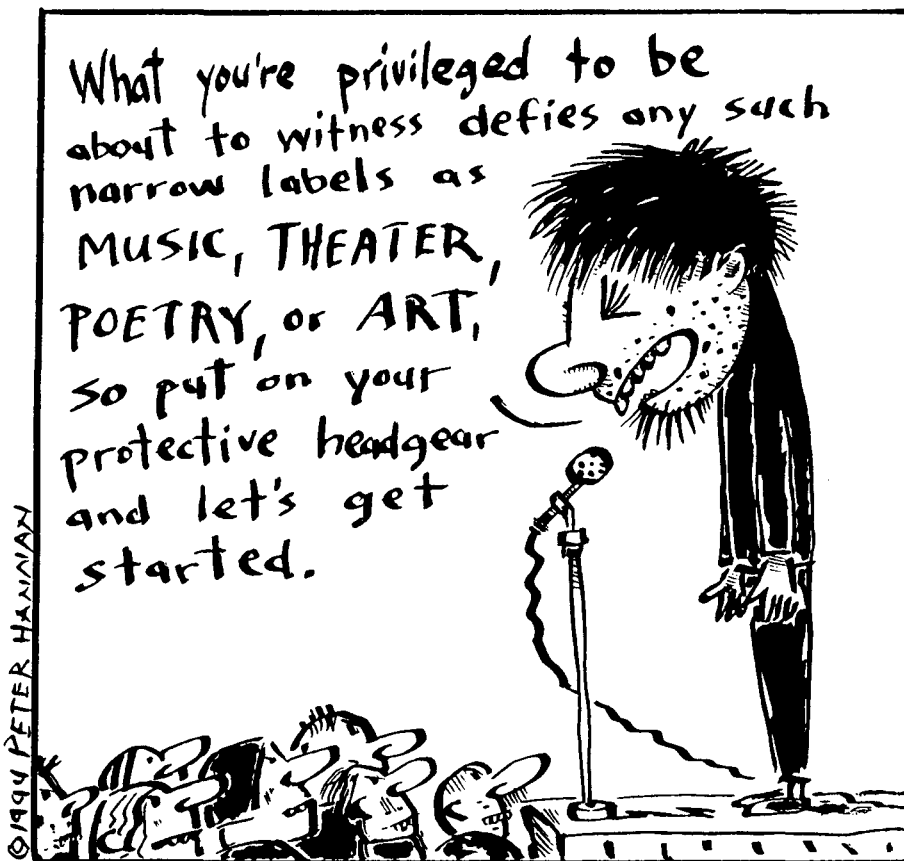
All this is documented in FBI files that Bari has obtained. Those files indicate that the FBI, in its two-and-a-half-year probe into the Bari bombing, never investigated who might have sent the dozens of death threats Bari received in the weeks prior to the bombing.

Through depositions taken in her case, Bari has learned that the FBI conducted a "bomb school" in northern California one month prior to the attempt on her life. As part of their schooling, local police and FBI agents—and possibly some security agents from the timber industry—blew up cars with pipe bombs and then examined the damage. This practicum was held on cutover lands that belonged to Louisiana-Pacific.

At least three FBI bomb school participants, including two of the instructors, were among the agents who responded to Bari's car bombing. The evidence turned over to Bari included a videotape of the FBI terrorism squad examining Bari's blown-up car. On the tape a squad member is heard saying, amid laughter, "This is it. This was the final exam." There is no evidence that the FBI was itself involved in planting the bomb, but by the time her case goes to trial next year, Bari hopes to learn exactly who attended that bomb school.

THE ADVENTURES OF A HUGE MOUTH

by Peter Hannan



E C O - P O L I T I C S

Under attack

“Y

ou can't reason with eco-freaks but you can sure scare them,” brags Rick Sieman, leader of the Sahara Club, a California-based anti-environmental group. Sieman is referring to threats and occasional assaults by members of his group against green advocates.

Recent years have seen a disturbing rise in violence against green organizers.

By David Helvarg

The Sahara Club's newsletter and computer bulletin board lists environmentalists' names, addresses, phone numbers and license plate numbers. The lists are usually followed with this admonition: “Now you know who they are and where they are. Just do the right thing and let your conscience be your guide.”

The Sahara Club is not alone. Across the country, the last six years have seen a startling increase in intimi-

industry and government.

While many Wise Use/Property Rights leaders claim the participation of millions of people (by adding up the members of anti-green groups such as the American Farm Bureau Federation, the National Rifle Association, and timber, mining and other resource associations), people who pay individual dues or actively participate in ongoing Wise Use

HOSTILE ENVIRONMENT

efforts number far fewer than 100,000. To date, the strength of anti-environmentalism has been not in its membership roles but in its ability to mobilize

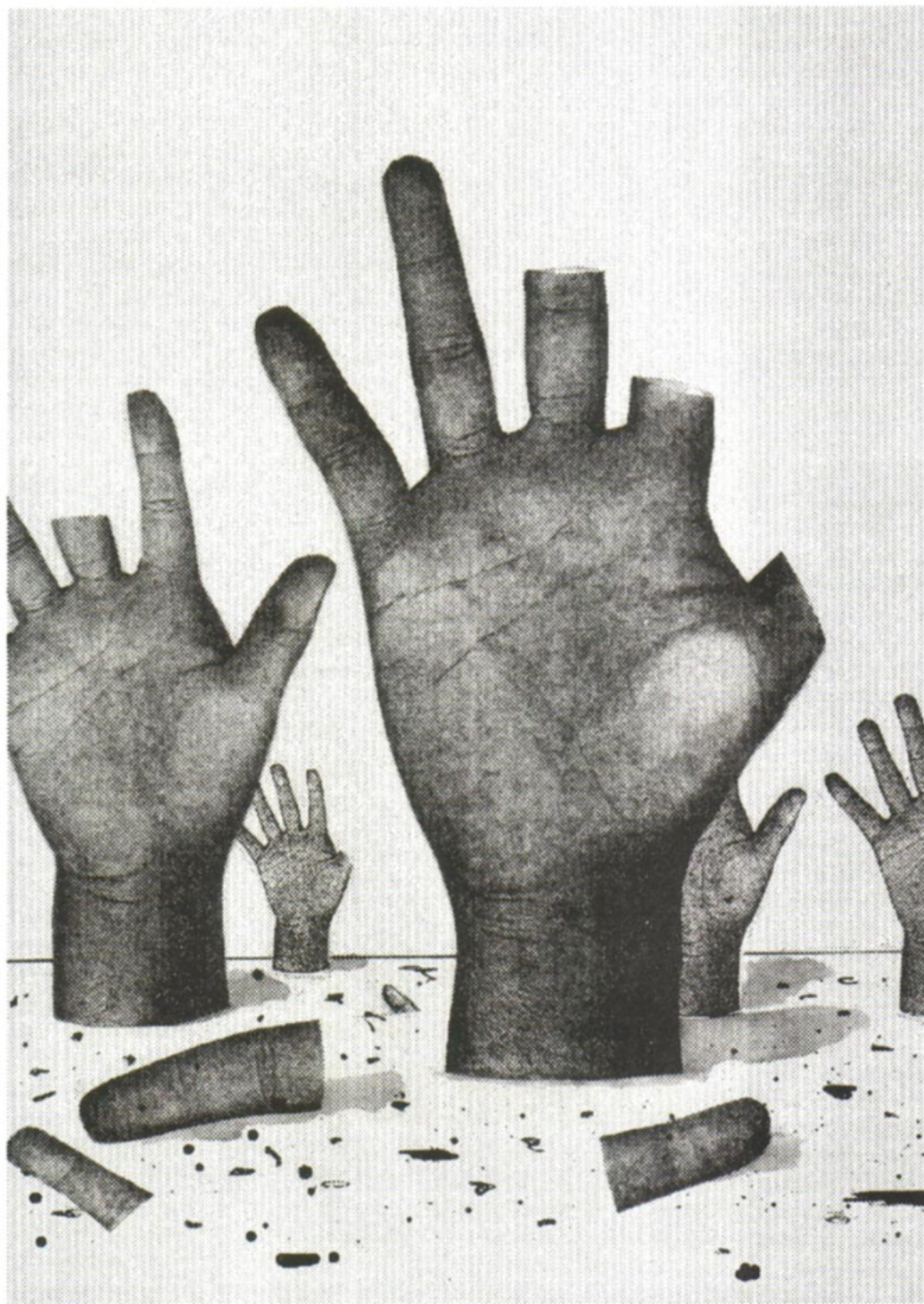
a network of core activists to intervene in and politicize local conflicts, creating a “perception” of power that they hope can be used as a springboard for further expansion.

But where politics have failed, elements of the Wise Use/Property rights movement have shown a willingness to use violence. The movement's key players—many of them upscale conservatives—have often tried to distance themselves from the bullying tactics. “When I say we have to pick up a sword and shield and kill the bastards, I mean politically, not physically,” explains Ron Arnold, a former Sierra Club member who went on to become a founder and leader of the anti-green movement. Nonetheless, if—as Arnold himself has put it—Wise Use is engaged in a “holy war against the new pagans who worship trees and sacrifice people,” it's the pagans who have suffered most of the casualties.

dation, vandalism and violence directed against grass-roots environmental activists. Observers of this trend have documented hundreds of acts of violence, ranging from vandalism, assaults, arson and shootings to torture and rape, much of it occurring in rural and low-income communities.

The threats and bloodshed have coincided with the rise of a self-styled “movement” whose members call themselves either “wise use” or “property rights” activists and support unrestricted timber cutting on public lands as well as offshore “energy development,” mining and drilling in national parks and wilderness areas, abolition of the Endangered Species Act, and rollbacks in other environmental-protection laws.

Most Americans have probably never encountered the Wise Use/Property Rights philosophy except in the rhetoric of Rush Limbaugh or Pat Buchanan. Nevertheless, the movement has developed its own social base, idiomatic language and support network, which reaches from unemployed loggers, off-road motorcyclists and rural county commissioners to the top levels of



"I was driving home from a concert and saw a glow in the mist. By the time I got to my house a mile and a half from the highway, it was burned to the ground," recalls Greenpeace USA's toxics coordinator Pat Costner, describing the 1991 arson fire that destroyed her Arkansas home.

Antitoxics activist Paula Siemers remembers the night two men attacked and knifed her on a Cincinnati street near her home following earlier incidents of harassment in which she'd been stoned and knocked unconscious, her dog had

been poisoned and her house had been set on fire. "They ran up behind me and they punched me and hit me. They just came out of nowhere and I didn't even know I was stabbed. I just thought they'd beat me and they ran off, and someone screamed and said you're bleeding, and I don't remember much after that."

Rather than originating with a single organized group, the anti-enviro violence spreading across America seems to have three primary sources. There are some spontaneous outbursts of violence, but more common are the campaigns of escalating harassment that seem to accompany the political organizing efforts of Wise Use/Property Rights groups such as Sahara Club, People for the West and the Adirondack Solidarity Alliance.

Still, some of the worst violence seems to go beyond the logistical capabilities of local anti-enviro groups, developers or low-paid workers indoctrinated with the idea that environmentalists want to steal their jobs. A number of attacks—like the one directed against Costner—suggest a third source of violence: professional security agents familiar with terrorist tactics. The security industry refers to such agents as "cow-

boys," hired gunmen who in the past might have busted unions or burned African-American churches but who today are available to do the dirty work of some of America's dirtiest industries.

The private security industry is itself one of the fastest growing and least regulated sectors of the U.S. economy. In the last 20 years it has grown from a \$2 billion- to a \$20 billion-a-year business employing more than 2.5 million people, more than twice the number of all public-sector police.

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In recent years, the private and corporate sectors have been involved in a range of politically and constitutionally dubious activities, including union-busting, workplace drug "stings" and the kidnapping of children at the center of custody cases. A number of government intelligence agents from the CIA, FBI and DEA have "retired" into more lucrative private-sector police work, bringing their knowledge of terrorist tactics and "dirty tricks" along with them.

Certainly there are strong indications of "dirty tricks" operations being run against U.S. environmentalists. Jeremy Rifkin is a well-known social critic and author who works out of Washington, D.C. His most recent book, *Beyond Beef*, is an environmental critique of the cattle industry that calls for a 50 percent reduction in the consumption of beef. The Cattlemen's Association has denounced the book as "fiction," and, in concert with the food-marketing industry, has set up a "Food Facts Coalition" to counter *Beyond Beef*.

In the spring of 1992, Rifkin's national book tour had to be canceled after it was repeatedly sabotaged. Melinda Mullin, the book's publicist at Dutton Books, says she received calls from fictitious newspaper and TV reporters trying to get Rifkin's itinerary. After someone managed to get ahold of it, radio and TV producers who had scheduled Rifkin's appearance began receiving calls from a woman claiming to be Mullin canceling or misrepresenting Rifkin's plans.

In July 1992, the U.S. House Committee on Interior and Insular Affairs released a report titled *Alyeska Pipeline Service Company Covert Operation*. The report documented how, in the wake of the 1989 *Exxon Valdez* oil spill, the North Slope pipeline company (owned by a consortium of oil companies) paid Wackenhut, one of the country's largest private security firms, more than a million dollars to spy illegally on suspected whistleblowers, environmentalists and critics who had provided congressional investigators with evidence of environmental violations at the oil-tanker terminal in Valdez.

Other targets of the spy operation included Alyeska employees, state officials and scientists, a Fairbanks radio-talk-show host, disgruntled fishermen and a public-interest law firm. Wackenhut agents even discussed mounting a spy operation against Congressman George Miller (D-CA), chairman of the House Interior Committee, which was investigating the *Exxon Valdez* oil spill.

In 1987 Tony Winter and his wife Rosemary, then six weeks pregnant, moved to a rural subdivision near Albany, Ga., a short distance from a Merck & Co. pharmaceutical plant. Later Rosemary gave birth to a baby girl. Within weeks of her birth, the baby developed respiratory problems and had to be put on a breathing machine. Along with her respiratory disorders, doctors found that the baby had a compromised immune system and unexplained skin rashes. Meanwhile, Tony Winter developed blinding headaches, numbness in his extremities, breathing difficulties, nausea and fatigue that eventually forced him to resign his job as a

computer programmer.

Winter was at a loss to explain his family's sudden health problems until he saw a 1990 TV report based on the national Toxics Release Inventory. The report identified Merck as the No. 1 industrial source of chemical emissions in the state of Georgia. An earlier 1987 state report showed that Merck had emitted 1.7 million pounds of dichloromethane, a suspected carcinogen, and 800,000 pounds of toluene, a chemical that can damage the pulmonary and nervous systems, into the local air and water. The Georgia Environmental Protection Agency had also found four contaminated areas within the plant fence line. Groundwater at one location contained 927,000 parts dichloromethane per billion; state regulations allow five parts per billion. Toluene had been found in concentrations of 183,000 parts per billion in the groundwater. The legal limit is 1,000 parts per billion. Aside from living a mile downwind from the plant, the Winters were also drinking the local tap water, which was pumped from a well just behind their house and close to the plant. After having samples of his family's blood and tissue samples tested, Winter discovered that their bodies contained high concentrations of industrial chemicals, including dichloromethane and toluene.

That year the Winter family moved away from the plant. In the summer of 1991, in the eighth month of her second pregnancy, Rosemary Winter's doctor told her that one of the twin boys she was carrying was dead. Because the twins shared the same amniotic sac, she had to carry both fetuses to term. That August she gave birth. Tony Jr., the live baby, was healthy but slow to develop neurologically. His immune system was later found to be compromised. The dead twin was sent to a toxicology lab. An autopsy revealed that the stillborn's body contained high levels of arsenic, chromium and other toxic chemicals. In 1992, the Winter family filed a lawsuit against Merck, claiming that contamination from the plant killed their unborn child and created their chronic health problems. A year later, on Sunday, Feb. 28, 1993, the *Albany Herald* published a long front-page article about the suit, chemical contamination at the plant and the Winter family's health problems.

"That's when the harassment started, just after that article ran," Tony Winter recalls. The following Sunday the axle came off the front end of his van as he and his family were leaving their home on a vacation trip to Atlanta. "I hit a pothole and felt the axle separate from the van," he says. "You can see where pins had been knocked out from it. Our mechanic said it had to be intentional—he couldn't figure any other way it could have happened. The cop who came to our house to look at the van said, 'This stuff's way over my head.'"

Between April and September of 1993, there were 11 reported break-ins at the Winters' home. "Nothing was ever stolen. I have a lot of computer equipment and a TV and VCR that were all still sitting there after the break-ins. There was even about \$20 in bills sitting next to my com-

puter on the table one time that was undisturbed. They just wanted to let me know they could get in my house. They'd leave doors open, water running. Some guy even peed on our living room floor, which tells you what kind of people we're dealing with."

Winter concedes that the harassment is one reason he settled his suit against Merck in October 1993. "The only condition on the settlement is I can't disclose the amount I received," he says. "It doesn't prevent me from continuing to bitch and raise hell or even enter a class-action suit against the company, which is what a number of us are now planning."

Among seven boxes of company records he received during the discovery phase of litigation, Winter claims that he found proof that contamination from the Merck plant, which employs 250 to 300 people, has spread beyond the fence line into the surrounding groundwater and now threatens one of two other major employers in the area, a beer brewery. The other big factory in town is a Procter & Gamble plant that packs disposable diapers made from cellulose produced at P&G's Buckeye Mill on the Fenholloway River in Taylor County, Fla.

The Fenholloway, on north Florida's Gulf Coast, was once considered a fishing and recreation paradise until it was reclassified an "industrial river" in 1947 in order to attract Procter & Gamble's Buckeye Cellulose pulp mill. Florida's obsolete "industrial river" classification allows companies to dump anything they want into a river. With its right to pollute assured, P&G began operations at its mill in 1954. Forty years later, the Fenholloway runs black as oil with some 50 million gallons a day of industrial discharge pouring from the Buckeye Mill, which produces more than a thousand tons a day of chlorine-bleached cellulose used in sanitary napkins, tampons and disposable diapers. Studies conducted by the EPA have found dioxin levels in the Fenholloway to be close to 2,000 times what the agency considers an acceptable level of risk. Taylor County, where the mill is located, has disproportionately high rates of leukemia and blood and liver disorders, problems associated with dioxin and other chemical exposures. A number of local wells have been contaminated along with the county's groundwater. The tap water has taken on a yellow-green tint and foul odor.

Local rancher Joy Towles Cummings first got into a dispute with P&G in 1989 over a logging lease on her family land. Cummings quickly began to suspect that the plant's chemical pollution of the river, wells and local springs was far worse than anybody suspected. She began getting inside information from plant workers about sinkholes below settling ponds and chemical leaks from unlined dumps as well as illegal dumping at the mill itself. By the spring of 1991, she was ready to form a citizens' group, Help Our Polluted Environment (HOPE), and take on the company. Among the first members were the outspoken Linda Rowland, who had worked at the mill for 15 years, and her painfully shy cousin, Stephanie McGuire. P&G supporters quickly

formed their own Wise Use counter group called Defenders of Taylor County. Defenders wrote to state officials denouncing HOPE as a "pseudo-environmental cult." Shortly thereafter, the women in the group began receiving threatening phone calls, including one from a caller who told them he would cut out their tongues if they didn't hush. After that, Joy Towles Cummings began packing a .38 revolver in her purse.

Cummings' fears, and those of other members of HOPE, were realized on April 7, 1992, when Stephanie McGuire was attacked at the fishing camp she ran with Linda Rowland on the Fenholloway. Rowland and McGuire had been receiving threatening phone calls for some time. Boats at their fish camp had been cut loose and pheasants caged near their house had been poisoned. The two women, isolated at their rural fish camp, had begun keeping handguns and shotguns near them at all times. At about five on the afternoon of April 7, after McGuire's son, Shawn, and Rowland had driven off to the store, McGuire waited for the last fishing boat to return from the Gulf of Mexico two miles down the Fenholloway. She later recalled hearing a boat pull up to the dock and going outside to meet

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it. There she spotted a man dressed in camouflage. He told her he'd shot a cow up the road and wanted the owner's name. Feeling uneasy, she began to head back to the house. Before she could get there, two other men in camouflage and masks came out of the woods. One hit her on the head with a rock and tossed it into the river. She fell to the ground, managed to get up again, and hit him in the mouth with all her strength. He reached

under his camouflage mask, removed a tooth she'd dislodged, and put it in his pocket. The men knocked her back to the ground, stomping on her hand. They burned her skin with a cigar and slashed her throat with a razor. Recounting the attack to a friend, she explained, "After they cut my throat they poured water in it from the river and said, 'Now you'll have something to sue about.' " The unmasked attacker told her, "This is the last face you'll see." Two of the men then raped her.

She survived the attack, but the Taylor County sheriff's investigation was not a model of forensic efficiency. Following the attack, sheriff's vehicles drove over the crime scene. Deputies who said there was not enough blood on the ground to conform to McGuire's story never entered the blood-spattered house; nor did they ever interview the neighbors who went to help her and were the first on the scene after the attack. Sheriff John Walker soon began suggesting that her injuries were the result of a lesbian quarrel between the cousins. No suspects were ever arrested.

Because much of the violence directed against environmentalists around the country is aimed at individuals rather than institutions, it makes it easier for Wise Use critics, industry representatives—even politically compromised members of law enforcement—to claim the attacks are personally motivated and unrelated to environmental conflicts. At other times, it can be genuinely hard to know if an attack was politically motivated, the result of a personal dispute or a combination of factors.

Still, despite occasional confusion over motivation, the great majority of anti-enviro attacks are on people—housewives, wilderness advocates, schoolteachers, journalists, mill and factory workers—who have had little or no experience of criminal violence until they have become politically active around environmental issues.

In June 1993, 30 victims of anti-environmental violence and harassment met at the Highlander Center in New Market, Tenn. The center is a conference, meeting and research facility with a history of social activism that goes from CIO unionism in the '30s and the civil rights movement in the '60s to environmental justice issues today. "We all realized that what was happening to us was real, that no one believed us, and there was nowhere to turn," says Lauri Maddy, a Kansas activist who has been shot at while battling chemical companies in suburban Wichita. Out of that meeting came an agreement to use Maddy's Rose Hill, Kan., home as a clearinghouse and repository for what was termed a People's Network database on harassment.

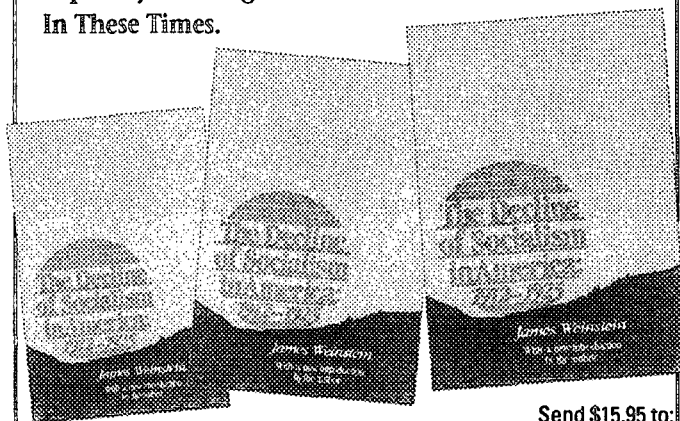
The anti-environmental backlash represents both a danger and a challenge—not only to conservationists and anti-pollution activists but to all citizens concerned about their right to speak out and protest without fear and intimidation. In the last six years, the anti-enviro ranks have grown from resource users protecting their federal subsidies and property owners unhappy with land-use regulations to the fringes of America's expanding underbelly of violence, where social causes become excuses for sociopaths motivated by fear, greed and hatred or private security agents working on behalf of outlaw industries.

As issues of sustainability and survival become more critical in the closing years of the 20th century, affecting the things people hold most dear such as families, health and property, the urges to heap blame and deny reality will inevitably increase. Unfortunately, killing the messenger has already become a favorite sport for far too many Americans.

David Helvarg is a California-based journalist whose work has appeared in many publications, including *In These Times*. This story was adapted with the permission of Sierra Club Books from *The War Against the Greens: The Wise Use Movement, the New Right and Anti-Environmental Violence*, ©1994, David Helvarg. Published this month, it is available at bookstores or by direct mail order from Sierra Club Store Orders, 730 Polk St., San Francisco, CA 94109. Enclose \$25 plus \$5 for shipping and handling, or call 800-935-1056. (Visa and Mastercard accepted.)

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CAMPAIGN '94

True North

O

liver North, wearing a charcoal-gray business suit, took a seat at a table at the stately Hay-Adams Hotel restaurant, just across LaFayette Park from the White House. It was a sunny day in June 1983, more than three years before "Ollie North" would become a household name.

But at that table, the trim Marine major would demonstrate the rhetorical touch that has since captured the imagination of his followers—and has left others convinced he is either crazy or an inveterate liar. With polls showing North ahead of Democratic incumbent Charles Robb in the Virginia Senate race, the conversation of 11 years ago also offers a preview of how North might use—or abuse—his office.

That conversation began when a conservative friend expressed his condolences to North about the death of

Lt. Cmdr. Albert Schaufelberger, who had been deputy U.S. military chief in El Salvador until leftist guerrillas assassinated him on May 25, 1983.

North, a rising star on Ronald Reagan's National Security Council staff who would later be promoted to lieutenant colonel, launched into a personal remembrance of Schaufelberger. But it was a story that told as much about North as it did about the late lieutenant commander.

In the calm, matter-of-fact tone of a military man who has known danger, North recounted a hair-raising adventure from the wilds of Central America. North said he and Schaufelberger had been flying over El Salvador in a light propeller plane when they learned that a battle was raging below. Waiting until they got word the fighting had ended, North said he and Schaufelberger landed the plane on a dirt road for a fast after-action report.

North and Schaufelberger jumped from the plane to talk with the commanding officer. But the firefight suddenly resumed,

North said. The two Americans found two wounded Salvadoran soldiers bleeding to death by the side of the road. So North and Schaufelberger loaded the wounded men onto the plane and tried to take off.

According to North's account, Schaufelberger was in the back of the plane giving CPR to one of the men and North was at the controls. Just then, a Salvadoran guerrilla opened fire on the plane, blowing out its windshield and scattering shards of glass all over the cockpit.

With the plane hit and only a dirt road for a runway, North said he barely made takeoff speed. He narrowly cleared some trees and struggled to get the plane back to El Salvador's Ilopango military airport. One of the wounded soldiers died in flight, North said. The other died on a desk at Ilopango.

Back at the White House, North said, he told the anecdote to President Reagan, who was so moved that he ordered special medical teams sent to El Salvador to teach the Salvadoran army how to treat and evacuate its wounded.

The calmly told tale captured what many conservatives admired in North: courage, commitment, a flair for the dramatic. But to his detractors, the account pointed to North's weaknesses: recklessness, bravado and possibly outright dishonesty.

In 1983, American military officials were barred by presidential order from entering battle zones in El Salvador. If North's account is true, the plane landing was a clear violation of that policy. If North or Schaufelberger had been wounded or captured, they could have jeopardized Reagan's controversial policies. But the other possi-

A little-known story from Oliver North's past tells us a lot about his future.

By Robert Parry

bility is that North made the story up.

F. Andy Messing Jr., a conservative activist who was close to North during his NSC days, heard North's tale that day in June 1983. Even earlier, he had listened to North explain that some facial cuts were caused by the flying glass from the shot-out windshield.

In November 1986, after North lost his job in the Iran-contra scandal, Messing—one of North's staunchest defenders—shared the airplane story with reporters. At the time, Messing vouched for North's honesty, even though Marine records showed no evidence that North, an infantry officer, had ever received flight training. But now Messing doubts that the airplane story is true.

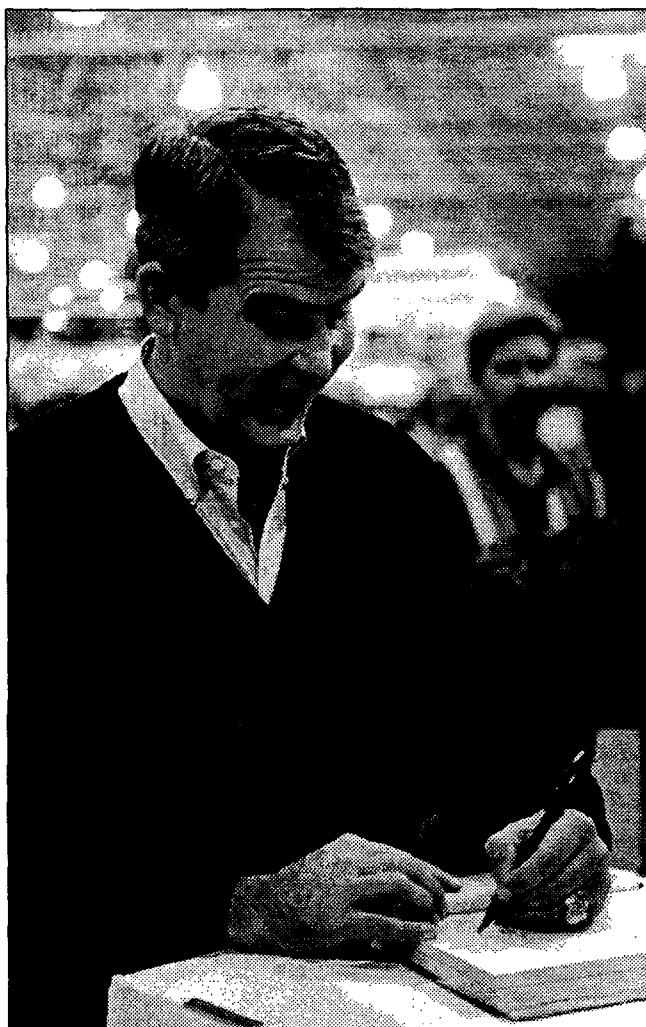
"When I'd asked about it in El Salvador, no one knew what I was talking about," said Messing, a Virginia resident who still intends to vote for North this fall. "I guess I have my doubts now that it happened at all."

North's spokesman Mark Merritt failed to respond to a list of written questions about the flight. So with Schaufelberger dead and North unwilling to provide more information, the Salvadoran story is yet another North mystery that is impossible to solve conclusively.

The plane story highlights a paradox about North as he pulls into the lead in the Virginia Senate race, passing Robb in recent polls even though former Democratic Gov. Douglas Wilder has abandoned his independent bid. Though many voters believe they know a great deal about North—from his televised Iran-contra testimony, his best-selling autobiography and thousands of news accounts—much of North's government career remains a mystery.

Many of North's key assignments for Reagan are still classified. The Clinton administration has released few documents from the '80s and has even sided with President George Bush's desire to protect records from public inspection. In any case, North benefits from the fact that some of those pointing fingers at him suffer from their own credibility problems.

For instance, former National Security Adviser Robert McFarlane, North's old boss, has accused North of "con-



ning people the same today as he did in government." In a *60 Minutes* interview to promote his book, *Special Trust*, McFarlane said about North, "He lies to me, to the Congress, to the president. This is not someone you want in public life."

McFarlane, however, was himself an architect of the deceptive Iran-contra policies and has pleaded guilty to four misdemeanor counts of misleading Congress through letters that concealed North's contra-support activities.

But critics more credible than McFarlane have noted North's tendency toward recklessness and mendacity. North's careless comments to Iranian radicals may have contributed to their impression that Anglican emissary Terry Waite was an American agent and to Waite's subsequent kidnapping. North's decision to overcharge Iran for U.S.-supplied weapons in 1986—to raise money for the contras—infuriated the Iranians and undercut Reagan's

arms-for-hostages strategy.

North himself has acknowledged lying to Congress in August 1986 when he was asked about press reports that he was secretly aiding the contras. But North has maintained steadfastly that he lied only that one time, when he felt duty-bound to Reagan to conceal the operation. North's three felony convictions were overturned because Congress had granted North immunity for his 1987 testimony.

So far in the Virginia Senate campaign, incumbent Robb has treated North gingerly, though North has not returned the favor. For instance, Democrats have failed to exploit another apparent North fib from his 1989 trial, the story of the \$15,000 "family fund" that North said he kept in a metal box bolted to the closet floor. North testified that the fund started with an insurance settlement from his Naval Academy days and grew as he deposited loose change every week for 20 years.

"I would come home on a Friday [and] I would take my change out of my pocket and put it in that steel box," North testified.

North said the cash fund explained how he could walk into a car dealership in Tysons Corner, Va., on Oct. 5, 1985, and plunk down \$5,000 in cash as a down payment

for an \$8,000 used mini-van. North said he had not brought the full amount because he had been planning to buy a cheaper car and didn't have time to return home for the remaining \$3,000.

But North's prosecutor, John Keker, argued that North was lying. Keker maintained that the "tin box" was a fabrication and that the money was pulled instead from contra operational accounts at the nearby offices of retired Lt. Gen. Richard Secord.

To refute North's story, Keker presented the testimony of the car salesman, who recalled that North had selected the car earlier and knew how much it would cost when he arrived. The salesman said North put down the \$5,000 and explained that he would obtain the \$3,000 balance from a credit union.

"He [North] only had \$5,000 in cash because that was all that was in the operational fund at that time," Keker said in his summation. "He didn't have \$15,000 in a tin box nailed to his closet floor. ... And he didn't go to the credit union. He used operational funds to buy that car ... liquid, untraceable, unaccountable funds."

But again, the mystery of the tin box has never been fully

resolved. A handwritten ledger belonging to Iran-contra financier Albert Hakim does show a \$3,000 cash payment to "Goode," one of North's aliases, on Oct. 5, 1985, the day North bought the car. "Goode" picked up another \$5,000 in cash on October 15, according to the ledger.

Still, North was never charged with diverting the \$8,000 for the car. "If you start prosecuting every lie that a defendant tells in his defense, it would go on forever," Iran-contra special prosecutor Lawrence Walsh explained recently when asked about the decision not to charge North for the "tin box" story.

North's efforts to enlist Panama's Gen. Manuel Noriega as a contra patron is another unresolved matter. North has acknowledged meeting with Noriega a number of times, either alone or accompanied by senior officials, such as Vice President Bush, CIA Director William P. Casey and Defense Secretary Caspar Weinberger.

"I once met with [Noriega] in London after an intermediary told us that Noriega wanted to help the Nicaraguan resistance," North wrote in his memoirs, *Under Fire*. "We were looking for tangible support for the contras, while he was more interested in things like bribery and murder."

The latest cover-up

Just when you think there are some hard facts in life—the world is round, rivers flow to the sea, Oliver North lied to Congress—someone sows confusion on a fundamental truth. The latest revisionism comes from the Oliver North for U.S. Senate Committee, which is distributing a leaflet that insists the historical finding "Ollie North lied to Congress" is itself one of "the four big lies about Ollie North and Iran-Contra."

The leaflet says that the "smear resulted from accusations that [North] lied to members of Congress in an off-the-record meeting in the White House situation room" in 1986. The leaflet does acknowledge that "North was purposely evasive" in responding to those congressional questions "as he had to be to protect lives and comply with his orders." But to say North "lied to Congress," the leaflet adds, is itself a lie from "the Washington insider crowd" afraid that North's election will disrupt its "little system of perks and privileges."

During his 1987 congressional testimony, however, North gave a more forthright account about his 1986 statements to members of the House Intelligence Committee: "I misled the Congress. I misled ... at that meeting ... face to face."

"You made false statements to them about your activities in support of the contras?" asked House Iran-contra counsel John Nields.

"I did," answered North. "Furthermore, I did so with a purpose ... of hopefully avoiding the very kind of thing that we have before us now. ... And I am admitting to you that I participated in preparation of documents for the Congress that were erroneous, misleading, evasive and wrong, and I did it again here [at the situation room] when I appeared before that committee."

North then added, "I make no excuses for what I did."

Now, seven years later, North's Senate campaign is not only making excuses for North's false statements, it is denying there were any. Counting, presumably, on the nation's short memory span, the North campaign is transforming the clear historical record into a "smear" from the "Washington insider crowd."

The North campaign's denunciations of the three other "big lies" are also part of what amounts to a new Iran-contra cover-up. The campaign leaflet denies the following: that "Ollie North betrayed Ronald Reagan," that Ollie North profited illegally from Iran-contra, and that "Ollie North got off 'on a technicality.'"

Though Reagan himself has lied mightily about his role in the Iran-contra affair, the ex-president wrote this year that he was "pretty steamed" about North's claims that Reagan had ordered many of his Iran-contra actions. In his 1989 trial, North was convicted of accepting an illegal gratuity—a security fence—and he also could not account for hundreds of thousands of dollars in cash that had been entrusted to him for the contras. And North's three felony convictions were indeed reversed on a technicality: a court ruled that the congressional immunity granted in exchange for his testimony made an untainted criminal trial impossible.

—R.P.

North protested the depiction "in some quarters" of his meetings with Noriega "as though the two of us had some kind of alliance. We didn't. Noriega was probably the single most despicable human being I ever had to deal with. After a meeting with him, you just wanted to go home and take a shower."

But Noriega, who is serving a 40-year sentence for drug trafficking, has challenged North's account of the London meeting. The deposed general's ghostwriter, Peter Eisner, has told *New York* magazine that Noriega claims North approached him at the coffee shop of London's Victoria Hotel, not the other way around. According to Noriega's version, North proposed "a campaign of sabotage, but he never used the word assassination."

North also never answered the 1988 Senate testimony of former Panamanian consul Jose Bandon, who claimed to have attended a meeting between North and Noriega aboard a "luxury yacht" off the Panamanian city of Balboa in June 1985.

Bandon told a Senate Foreign Relations subcommittee that he and Noriega were introduced to North and "a young woman" aboard the yacht. Bandon said North urged Noriega to help the contras as a way to circumvent a federal law barring U.S. military assistance.

Noriega had already been assisting Reagan's contra operation when this alleged meeting occurred. In July 1984, the Panamanian strongman funneled \$100,000 to contra units on the southern front in Costa Rica, according to a set of U.S. government admissions introduced at North's trial.

Other details of the North-Noriega relationship still remain vague. To this day, it is unknown exactly what was discussed on the yacht and who the "young woman" was. The North campaign has declined to respond to written questions about Bandon's allegations.

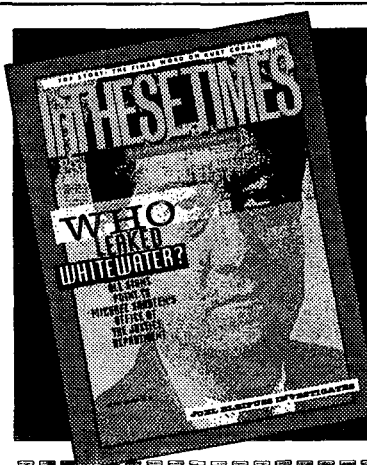
And there's the curious case of the contra plane crash at the civilian airport in Managua, Nicaragua. A senior CIA official told me several years ago that North had a hand in the bizarre air raid on Sept. 8, 1983. The CIA official, who insisted on anonymity, said North was on the tarmac at Ilopango airfield in El Salvador when the contra plane took off with two 500-pound bombs strapped under its wings.

The light plane attacked the crowded airport at mid-day. The plane was shot down by Nicaraguan defenders and crashed into the control tower, causing the airport to shut down and killing the pilot, co-pilot and an airport employee.

The attack also happened to endanger the lives of two U.S. senators—Gary Hart and William Cohen—whose plane was scheduled to land just minutes after the bombing raid.

If elected this November, North would join Cohen as a Republican member of the U.S. Senate. ◀

Robert Parry wrote the first news story, in June 1985, describing Oliver North's secret contra support operation. His two books about the Reagan era are *Fooling America* and *Trick or Treason*.



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VIEWPOINT

Fewer illusions

By Fred Halliday

In the early morning, after my night flight from London arrives in Tel Aviv, there are two surprises. The first: the Air Uzbekistan plane on the tarmac. A group of men from the former Soviet republic—obviously disconcerted by the sight of Israeli women in summer shorts—stand in the airport entrance hall, apparently on their way to the immigrants' processing center. The second surprise: Israeli taxi drivers using Arabic phrases in their speech. It is strange to note so many Hebrew words that are similar to Arabic. Palestinians have often said they would come to influence Israel through food (notably humus and falafel), and it may be true of language as well.

The drive from Tel Aviv airport to Jerusalem, taking less than one hour, passes through countryside reminiscent of other eastern Mediterranean countries—the corn already harvested in early June, the landscape dry and strangely deserted. In the distance are Israeli villages built in what looks like Germanic rustic style. Later we pass the wreckage of military equipment from the 1948 war.

On many of the cars, and on roadside signs, is the right-wing slogan *ha-am 'im golan*, "the people are with the

Golan," a reference to the Israeli-occupied territory on the border with Syria. Others denounce *shalom balakhot*, "the nightmare peace," and show a photograph of Prime Minister Yitzhak Rabin wearing a *kaffiya*, the Palestinian headdress. "We elected Rabin—we got Arafat," the poster reads.

Entering the suburbs of Jerusalem, I pass lines of orthodox Jews queuing for the morning transport, the men in their rendering of the 18th-century Polish clothes that pass for religious attire, the women in their *sheitel* headscarves. In a taxi on the way to the American Colony Hotel, we pass the King David Hotel ("Begin blew it up in 1947," the dri-

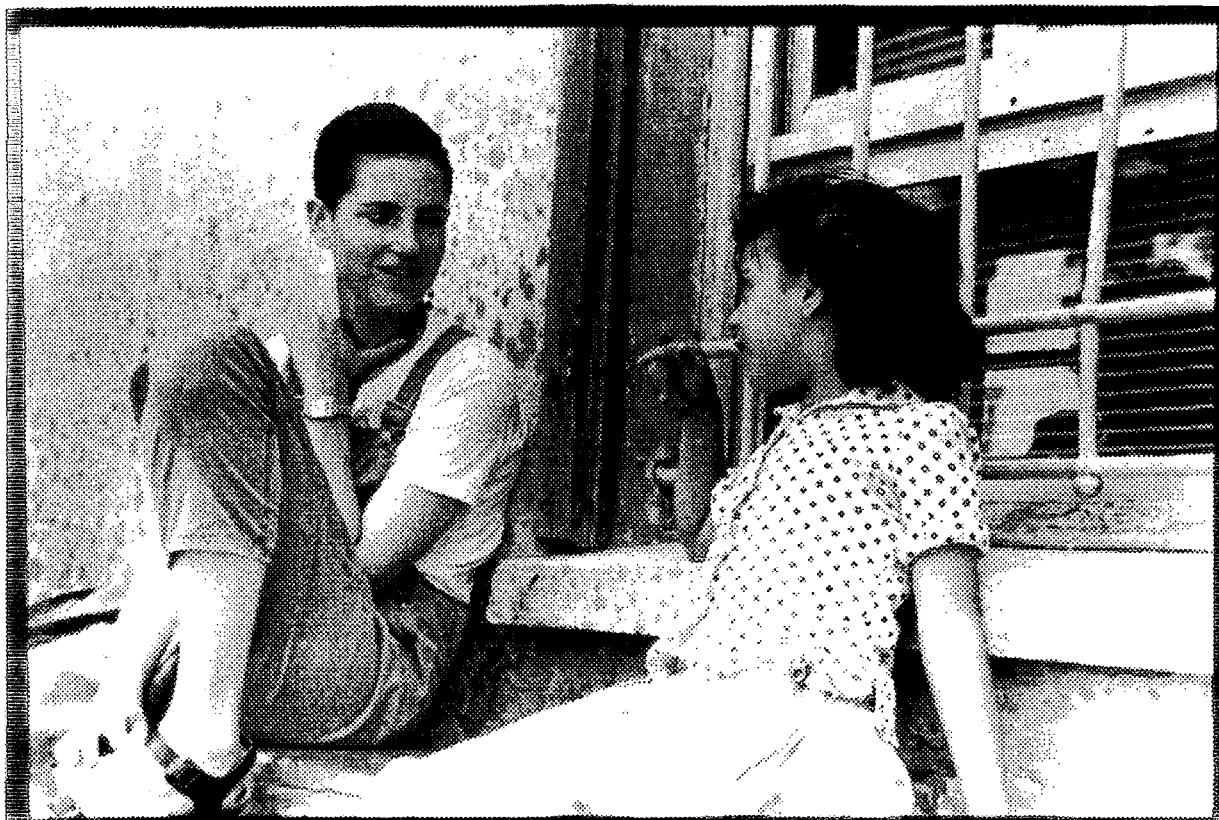
*A Mideast expert
discovers some
surprises during
a visit to
Israel and the
occupied territories.*

ver remarks) and the green line that divided the city until 1967.

In the Old City, the apparently timeless routines of prayer and tourism continue. In the Church of the Holy Sepulcher the divisions of Christianity are dramatized in separate altars for the main rites. It was a dispute about the keys to this church that sparked the Crimean War in 1854. In the Arab Quarter the trade in Christian replica continues. Groups of Russian tourists are shown around. Several houses are decorated to celebrate the owner's return from the pilgrimage to Mecca. In others, which are heavily defended, Jewish settlers are installed. The most heavily protected of all is Beit Sharon, the house ostentatiously purchased by Ariel Sharon—who, it seems, rarely ever stays there.

On the spectacular expanses of Haram al-Sharif, where Abraham is said to have contemplated the sacrifice of his son and from which the Prophet Muhammad is said to have taken his night flight to heaven, the recently restored gold dome and tiling of the Mosque of Oman shine out. Inside, the rock from which Muhammad ascended is visible, enshrined and lit for inspection.

Past the al-Aqsa mosque on the western side and through a gate one gets an overview of the Western Wall, the main area reserved for men, a smaller area on the right for women. The security men say that no photographs are to be taken. The pious have traditionally placed messages to God in the crevices of the wall, but now there is an office in the Jewish quarter you can fax to have your message inserted for you. Over the open space in the front of the wall, where military units come to swear allegiances, are the buildings of the Jewish quarter, from which Arabs were evicted after the 1967 war, their houses destroyed. "But don't believe too much of our propaganda," a Palestinian friend tells me. "There were Jews there before 1948, till we pushed them out."



An Israeli woman talks to a Palestinian girl in Jerusalem.

The drive to Bir Zeit University, a little beyond Ramalla, takes half an hour. We pass through Beit Hanina and other Arab areas of the city, with expanses of new Israeli settlements. One index of whether a house is Israeli or Arab: the Israelis have red-tiled roofs, usually sloping, while the Palestinians' are flat.

Bir Zeit, one of seven Palestinian universities, was closed for some years by the Israelis to suppress political protest. Teaching continued in homes, and the university, still unable to use its facilities in the center of town, has moved to a new campus site. From the roof you can see Tel Aviv and the sea. Some Palestinian academics, exiled or expelled, have returned, but teaching remains affected by strikes, and students from Gaza cannot attend because of the ban on travel through Israel. Some are believed to be continuing their studies by hiding in the hills near the university.

Discussion turns to the obstruction of academic life by the Israelis, and then to the dangers of the "new world order." There is general concern—and sadness—about the fighting in Yemen, but little sympathy for those in southern Yemen who are seen as having promoted "secession." Many students have given up on the secular parties to support Islamic groupings. There is apprehension about what kind of regime Yasser Arafat will create. The word "democracy" has acquired a special ring, one that may set those working with Arafat against those who want neither continued Israeli occupation nor a reproduction in Palestine of the practices of established Arab rulers.

There are many jokes about the new Palestinian situation. One story is about a group of young people discussing the peace agreement with an older man: After a while he takes one young man aside and says he will denounce him as an Israeli agent. The young man asks why and is told: "Because for the whole evening you are the only one who has not denounced Arafat."

In hearing the criticisms of Arafat, I am reminded of the hopes expressed by left-wing Palestinians in Jordan in the late '60s about the "crisis of the petty bourgeois regimes." It was hoped, then, that this would enable an independent Palestinian politics to emerge and challenge the "bourgeois nationalist" Arafat. Now, the left-wing groups are part of the "ten groups" based in Damascus, opposed to the peace but, with the exception of the Popular Front, having little resonance in occupied Palestine.

There is a new element today, that of Hamas, the Islamic Resistance Movement. The Muslim Brotherhood remained quiescent in occupied Palestine for many years, but with the start of the *intifada* in 1987 it came to play a leading political and social role. Its greatest asset is the sense that the PLO has become corrupted by its semi-official role and is unable to respond to popular wishes. Yet there are elements of the Hamas program that disquiet some: not only the group's attitude toward women and the Christian part of the Palestinian population, but also

its claim that Palestine is a religious endowment, a *waqf*, of the whole Islamic people. Property owners, indeed Palestinians in general, are unsure what this means. Most of those aware of Hamas' thinking believe it will, for the moment, work within the Arafat-Rabin accords. While refusing to accept the legitimacy of an Israeli state, Hamas cites religious authority for a *hudna*, or truce, between themselves and the Israelis.

The scene in Jericho contrasts with that elsewhere in the West Bank. It is almost as if one can feel that people are walking with a different step. The red trees are in blossom. Palestinian flags fly in the street. In the police station on the main square, we have tea with the officer in charge: Returning after 27 years, he has still not been able to visit his family in Nablus. Did he ever think he would return to a self-governing Palestine? "We never doubted it. We always knew we would come back."

On the edges of the town we pass one of the regular, joint Palestinian-Israeli police patrols, each jeep flying the flag of its occupants. The Palestinian people at the exit point see no need to check our papers. They remain in the cafe. At the Israeli post two soldiers, one Russian, one Ethiopian, check our papers. We leave the world's oldest city and climb up the hot mountainside, eventually reaching sea level, and return to Jerusalem.

The uncertainties of the peace process have combined with changes inside Israeli society to produce a sense of widespread change. The arrival of over a quarter of a million immigrants from Russia—many of them not Jews—has given new life to the hopes of Zionism, but the peace process has also opened uncertainties about the past.

If it is possible to raise critical questions about the present, such as Israeli army torture of Palestinian prisoners, those who re-evaluate the past face widespread hostility. The historians who have used Israeli documents to analyze the expulsion of Arabs in 1948 are subjected to repeated attack in the

press and universities.

No longer do many advance the idea that Israel has some kind of "socialist" society. Privatization of state enterprises is proceeding here as elsewhere in the world. Once there was an ethos of collectivism, and a rejection of consumer goods. (An Israeli friend told me how when he was young you were not allowed to wear jeans or perform Western dances.) Now the aspiration, apparently fueled by foreign television programs, is for a suburban house and a garden.

Religious organizations are gaining ground and so dividing the society: Half of Jewish children in Jerusalem are now in religious schools. For other Israelis, these *haredim* (literally, "anxious," now meaning "observant") are objects of contempt. "The wailing wall is Mickey Mouse Judaism," a Jewish friend expostulates. Others complain that religious schools absorb money and that *haredim* men evade military service.

Yet the strength of these movements is evident from the crowd of 100,000 who receive the visiting Rabbi Moshe Teitelbaum in Mea She'arim, an orthodox area of Jerusalem. The religious leader lives in New York and rejects the possibility of a Jewish state until the coming of the Messiah.

But the overriding question, among Palestinians and Israelis, is where the peace process will end. Many Palestinians doubt whether it will lead to a full recuperation of the territories lost in 1967, or that an independent state will emerge. One academic had just been to South Africa to study the working of Bantustans, which he felt would be the model for the new Palestinian entity.

Some Israelis think that Rabin is prepared to go back to the 1967 situation, provided he can take Israeli public opinion with him, and the key here is their sense of security. Others calculate that he wants, at most, to implement the Allon Plan, under which Israel would retain control of settle-

ments of security value. A surprising number of Israelis say they are willing to see a Palestinian political presence in Jerusalem.

The most striking view of what will occur comes when I visit Israeli settlements on the West Bank. Residents there are convinced that Rabin wants them to move. One official threatens civil war if they have to leave, but in the main the residents' language is of "abandonment." (In Hebrew, *netisha* is the word used for abandonment of children by a parent.) All have jobs in Israel and commute to work. The years of *intifada* stone-throwing have worn down their morale. All male settlers are armed, and their cars have "shatter-proof" plastic windows. Many see their settlements, in effect housing estates on hill tops, as providing a kind of community they could not find in Israel itself.

In populist outrage, these settlers denounce the "coast" and the "city" that have betrayed them. Their hope is that Arafat will alienate Israeli public opinion and that Likud will then be elected in 1996 and so obstruct the peace process. A key to the whole story is Syria. An agreement with Syria before the 1996 elections would greatly strengthen Rabin's hand and promote a sense of security in Israel. Hence the significance of the right-wing slogan about "the people" wanting to hold on to Golan.

The overall sense one gets, from Palestinians and Israelis, is that, despite the differences between the two sides and the tensions within each community, something is moving. Each leadership could, and may, put the brake on the process, but they cannot go back to the situation before September 1993. Both the Israelis and the Palestinians, long prisoners of maximalist illusions, have now learned certain limits. Peace, and the attainment of a stable, two-state solution, has a reasonable chance. ◀

Fred Halliday, who teaches at the London School of Economics, is the author of several books on the Mideast, including *Arabs in Exile* (St. Martin's Press).

IT'S TIME WE TOOK RUSH LIMBAUGH SERIOUSLY.

Rush Limbaugh, whose political spiels are broadcast on over 625 radio and 220 TV stations nationwide, is often called "provocative." It would be more accurate to call him "wrong." And that's not just a matter of opinion. It's a matter of fact. Rush Limbaugh's groundless assertions on issues of public importance include:

- "most Canadian physicians" come to the U.S. when in need of surgery;
- nicotine's addictiveness "has not been proven";
- volcanoes do more harm to the ozone layer than man-made chemicals;
- condom users have a one-in-five AIDS risk;
- "the poorest people in America are better off than the mainstream of families in Europe";
- "we have more acreage of forestland in the United States today than we did at the time the Constitution was written";
- Nixon would have defeated Kennedy in 1960 if "only 4,000 votes" had "gone another way in Chicago";
- "not one indictment" resulted from Lawrence Walsh's Iran-Contra investigation.

All of these assertions, and many more, are plain wrong. It's all documented in a new report, "Limbaugh's Reign of Error," in the magazine *EXTRA!*

Yet Rush Limbaugh seldom, if ever, corrects his factual errors on the air — errors that mislead public opinion, pollute public policy debate, jeopardize public health and, in the case of one rumor, reportedly caused a drop in the stock market. After *EXTRA!* published its compilation of Limbaugh's fallacies, he repeatedly concocted new canards in attempts to defend his original errors.

Given the millions of people who believe Limbaugh, it's no laughing matter that his unchallenged political sermons are packed with falsehoods.

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E D U C A T I O N

Lessen plan

By Walter C. Farrell Jr.,
James H. Johnson Jr. and Cloyzelle K. Jones

Privatization is all the rage in America's urban schools. In recent years, Baltimore, Miami, Boston, Worcester, Mass., and Wichita, Kan., have all opted to privatize some of their public schools. Hartford, Conn., recently negotiated a contract with Educational Alternatives, Inc. (EAI), and Milwaukee is considering following suit. Increasingly, the nation's urban school districts—expe-

*The push to
privatize public
schools threatens to
further impoverish
America's
inner cities.*

riencing grave fiscal and academic achievement problems—are embracing this latest educational innovation.

While advocates of privatization promise to simultaneously cut education costs and to improve the classroom environment, their plans threaten to further impoverish the inner-city communities outside those classroom walls.

In many poor urban areas, public schools are one of the last sources of stable, well-paying employment. Given the ongoing exodus of highly unionized, high-wage manufacturing jobs from urban areas, many inner-city communities simply cannot afford to lose the decent wages and stable incomes that public schools provide.

But as for-profit educational companies move into urban communities they are likely to seek significant workforce and wage reductions. Representatives of these companies have stated repeatedly that their success depends in large measure on reducing

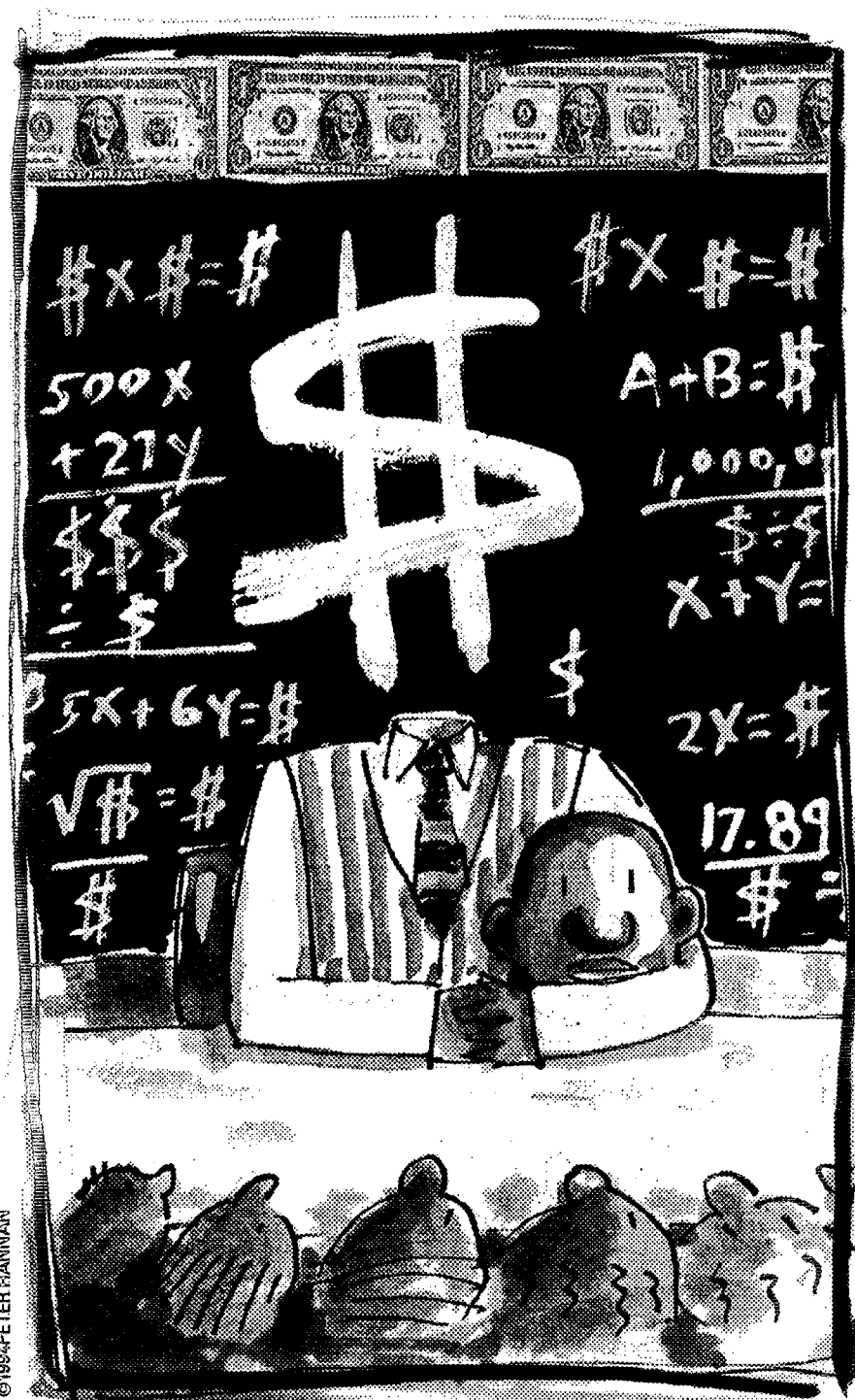
the labor costs of unionized workers. Such a move would be disastrous for the many inner-city families who currently rely on the jobs that public schools provide.

Privatization efforts, in short, will contribute to the further deterioration of the social and economic fabric of inner-city neighborhoods. These efforts will be inextricably tied, intentionally or not, to the existing state of urban decline.

In Baltimore, for example, one of two cities where public schools are currently being operated by EAI, wages among educational aides and paraprofessionals were reduced from \$10 to \$7 an hour. Health care and pension benefits were eliminated, and some workers were laid off. The affected workers were all from job categories where minorities predominated, and a substantial number of them had children enrolled in the Baltimore public schools. These sorts of economic dislocations directly contribute to the destabilization of students' families and neighborhoods, further exacerbating the social problems that schools must address. In addition, since EAI has subcontracted maintenance, food and secretarial services to another corporation, Johnson Controls, it has been able to dispense with past commitments to minority workers and contractors, creating a ripple of negative economic effects across the broader minority community.

Throughout the United States, urban governments are making a concerted effort to absolve themselves of the responsibilities for a wide range of public services. Privatizing schools is just the latest initiative in turning traditional public services over to for-profit companies, which usually reduce wages and do not pay employee benefits.

What is particularly disturbing about this recent turn of events is that it is occurring at the same time that blacks and other citizens of color have substantially increased their represen-



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At the same time, minority citizens hold a minuscule share of well-paying private-sector jobs in central cities—even though public sector dollars were often used to create those jobs in the

first place. A case in point is downtown redevelopment in Milwaukee. While public-sector dollars served as the linchpin of the city's redevelopment efforts between 1982 and 1992, a survey conducted by the University of Wisconsin-Milwaukee Center for Economic Development revealed that the city's blacks and Latinos, who com-

DIALOGUE

Body slammed

By David Edward

CEO, THE BODY SHOP U.S.A.

David Moberg's recent article on the Body Shop (*ITT*, Sept. 19, 1994) concludes in large type that "The Body Shop doesn't deserve its image as 'one of the most socially responsible companies in the world.'"

While we welcome objective criticism, we must take strong exception to the false or misleading allegations on which this conclusion is based. I am writing, therefore, to set the record straight on the many inaccurate points Moberg raised—an opportunity we would have liked to have had *before* Moberg's piece ran.

In the first place, the Body Shop is not—as the Moberg article implies—about "image." After all, founder Anita Roddick herself has no such illusions. As she noted in an interview with *Working Woman* magazine months ago, "Consumers know that if it says, 'Buy the product to save the planet,' that is a load of shit. If you are into manufacturing, then you are into producing more and more, and you cannot be called an environmentalist. I certainly can't be called environmental. All I do is clean up my own mess." We are concerned not with maintaining the *image* of a socially responsible company, but with striving in *reality* to be as responsible a corporate citizen as possible. We do not consider ourselves a

perfect company—nor do we believe a perfect company exists. But we do believe in striving to improve our own activities, and in disclosing our policies to consumers and investors. Not surprisingly, these efforts make us a tempting target for criticism.

Unfortunately, much of the criticism in the Moberg piece was inaccurate and apparently recycled from an article that appeared recently in a small business publication. The first false allegation Moberg chose to repeat suggests that the very concept of the Body Shop—including the store's name and product offerings—was copied from a San Francisco company back in the '70s. Moberg repeated the charge despite the fact that the owners of the company whose concept the Body Shop allegedly copied have repudiated the claims, stating that we "didn't rip [them] off," and that there were "fundamental differences" between our stores all along.

Moberg also suggests that the Body Shop did not begin campaigning for progressive causes until 1985. He further implies that the company has undertaken political activities as a marketing ploy to boost its bottom line. Moberg's insinuation is untrue, as he would have found if he had asked Bryn Jones, a former Greenpeace activist who is familiar with the Body Shop's work with Greenpeace, to characterize the Body Shop's involvement in Greenpeace efforts during the '80s: "What benefits Body Shop got out of the rela-

tionship, I don't know. Not a lot I shouldn't think, because we were very small at that time. I simply assumed that Anita's interest was based on shared environmental values, rather than any attempt at a calculated manipulation to use Greenpeace for commercial reasons."

The Roddicks' social activism began in the '60s and continued in the '70s when they campaigned to alleviate homelessness while running their hotel and restaurant business. The earliest Body Shop stores regularly displayed information about social and environmental issues. The Body Shop's small and localized campaigning went national in 1985 and 1986, when the company joined Greenpeace in a poster campaign opposing the dumping of hazardous waste in the North Sea. Since then, the company has been involved in several national and international campaigns dealing with the environment, human rights, homelessness and other issues. Since the original article attacking our commitment to progressive causes appeared, we have received letters of support from Greenpeace, a group of top environmentalists in the United Kingdom, and others who disagree with Moberg's characterization of our activities.

Moberg assails the Body Shop for purportedly misrepresenting its products. The Body Shop prides itself on its effective use of natural ingredients in its products. We do not suggest that every one of our products contains 100 percent natural ingredients. In fact, the Body Shop provides customers written materials in all its stores that fully describe its practices regarding natural ingredients. Far from misrepresenting its product contents, the Body Shop has been a leader in product disclosure. We fully identify all the ingredients in our products in a "product information manual," available in all our stores worldwide. The Body Shop uses natural ingredients whenever possible, and looks for ways

to avoid the use of petrochemicals whenever feasible—particularly in producing and transporting our product. Because of these efforts, natural ingredients make up a large portion of over two-thirds of our products. The Body Shop fully discloses the presence of all ingredients—natural or synthetic—to our customers.

Next, Moberg targets the Body Shop's Trade Not Aid program. Contrary to Moberg's implications, the Body Shop is committed to sourcing products and ingredients from developing countries and, in addition to purchasing from its Trade Not Aid partners, spends considerable time,

Did In These Times smear the Body Shop? Or is it the cosmetics firm that's using smear tactics?

effort and money to expand the program and assist our partners. The thrust of Moberg's argument, which focuses on trade with the Kayapo community in Brazil, is that the Body Shop—by failing as a single customer to provide enough money to cover all of the needs of the Kayapo—is providing no benefit to the Kayapo community. This logic suggests we would do better by doing nothing. We are the first to acknowledge that our trade efforts are not a panacea for the needs of our trading partners. But helping local economies begin to flourish—and staying in for the long term—is a good idea we stand behind.

There is a Trade Not Aid program that produces *no* ingredients for our products—and that we talk little about, but that has provided some small measure of hope or work for a lot of people. That is *The Big Issue*, a newspaper (with an average weekly circulation of 200,000) sold by about 2,000 vendors, almost all of them homeless people in London, Edin-

burgh, Glasgow, Manchester and several other cities.

Our commitment extends to community projects in the United States that the Moberg article omitted. At our Harlem store, for example, 50 percent of store profits go to community organizations or projects in Harlem, and the remaining 50 percent goes to a fund to finance the opening of similar shops across the United States. We provide markets for a soap-saver project in Baltimore and a brand-new T-shirt factory in Washington, D.C.—and the list goes on. The company also spends considerable resources in the communities in which we work and on efforts about which we feel strongly, including homelessness, the environment and registering voters. In addition to the company's charitable activities, Anita and Gordon Roddick themselves contribute heavily to charitable causes.

Moberg also charges that the Body Shop has “finessed its position on animal testing,” and accuses the company of having “exploited” the issue through its in-store letter-writing campaigns to affect animal testing policies. For the record, the Body Shop has never tested its products or its ingredients on animals. Nor have we commissioned tests by anyone else. For years, we have publicly stated our policy not to purchase any ingredients that have been tested on animals in the past five years—a position we believe helps bring pressure on ingredient suppliers to abandon animal testing. He cites a German policy that regulates our advertising—the same law makes it impossible for Avis to claim to try harder! Moberg's article ignores our record of leadership in efforts to end animal testing, which has earned us the support of the International Fund for Animal Welfare—the world's largest animal welfare group—and other organizations working to end animal testing. Had Moberg asked the Humane Society of the U.S., he would have found support there too.

Moberg relies on two disgruntled sources—Larry and Stacey Benes—to make his next charge: that the Body

Shop mistreats and misinforms its franchisees. Had Moberg raised the Benes issue with us, we would have told him what an independent analyst at the ethical investment firm Robertson Stevens found: that the Benes' expectations for first-year profits—after taking substantial sums out of the business for personal expenses—were unrealistic for any business, much less a retail store in its first year. Unfortunately Moberg did not ask us to comment on the issue, and instead used their dissatisfaction to portray the Body Shop as a bad franchiser. In reality, 130 franchised Body Shop stores in the United States are owned by 65 franchisees, 30 of whom have purchased at least two franchises. We doubt that almost half of our franchisees would purchase additional franchises from us or that new franchisees would continue to seek franchises from us if business is as bad as Moberg suggests. Recently, over 95 percent of our U.S. franchisees reinforced this belief when they sent us a letter of support and indicated that they were proud to be affiliated with the Body Shop.

Moberg relies on one former employee's word to attack the Body Shop's strong environmental record. This employee had wildly unrealistic expectations about what a fast-growing start-up business is like—for example, Moberg repeats the former employee's assertion that he had “no budget,” yet does not mention that, at that stage of growth, no one in the company had an independent budget. In reality, the Body Shop International has been recognized as a leader in the field of environmental management and auditing, and has won national awards in its native United Kingdom. We continually strive to limit the impact of our business activities on the environment, and subject our performance to independent review. At the same time, we recognize that more progress will always be possible. For that reason, we have invested considerable resources over the years in such projects as a wind farm and an experimental, ecologically sustainable system

for treating raw waste. For the record, we had two minor spillages—totaling 60 gallons—of detergents at our New Jersey facility. In both cases, we reported the spills as required. Such spills, while unfortunate, are not the sole basis for evaluating our environmental practices when considered against all of our activities.

Finally, the Body Shop opened its first United States franchised store in August 1990. Over the past four years, the U.S. business has grown to \$100 million in sales. Naturally, we have some problems, as should be expected of a company experiencing such rapid growth. Moberg has taken every opportunity to focus in on difficulties we have encountered in the United States, while making no distinction between the relatively young U.S. business and its 18-year-old British parent. ◀

David Moberg replies:

I interviewed Body Shop representatives in preparing my article, which was researched and even set in type before Jon Entine's article was published in *Business Ethics*. It was not "recycled," although some of the criticisms had been raised earlier in other publications.

Unfortunately, the Body Shop ignored or did not answer many of my requests for information and interviews; now it complains about not having been consulted. Then, as now, the Body Shop has chosen to attack its critics and avoid most direct responses. It shows no inclination to take criticism seriously and change the substance of the company's operation.

The Body Shop, like other cosmetics companies, is indeed in large part about image. The Body Shop's chosen image was anti-industry and socially responsible. My article argued that the company has greatly exaggerated its achievements as a marketing strategy (though this does not imply that the Roddicks do not also believe what they say). The quote from *Working*

Woman is extremely atypical in its modesty.

As for Edward's other points:

- Whatever the owners of the original Body Shop in the United States now choose to say, early product and price lists from the Roddicks' Body Shop are nearly identical to those from the Bay Area stores. Roddick wrote in her autobiography that she was looking for ideas for small businesses when she came to the United States and that she traveled in California. The circumstantial evidence strongly suggests "borrowing."

- My account of the Body Shop's political activities simply follows Anita Roddick's autobiography, including her comment on the commercial value of political activity. Those activities undoubtedly have also helped various causes.

- In its review of the Body Shop, Franklin Research and Development Corp., a social investment firm that sold off its stock in the company in August, concluded that "the Body Shop has benefited from subtle public misperceptions" that the company fostered. The review recommended that the Body Shop should follow the lead of Tom's of Maine and Aveda, both of which use all-natural ingredients (unlike the Body Shop) and much more clearly label the source of ingredients in their products.

- Tribal and peasant people should not be faced with the choice of doing it the Body Shop's way or not doing it at all. There are far better ways of conducting such programs, if the Body Shop were as interested in helping its trading partners as in reaping valuable publicity. (As for the Body Shop's work with the homeless, Anita Roddick and the company do, in fact, talk a great deal about *The Big Issue*, their newspaper to help street people.)

- Edward simply repeats the company line on animal testing without addressing any of the criticisms of how it has tried to appear less linked to animal testing than it is. The Humane Society does include the Body Shop and hundreds of other cosmetics firms on its approved list. But

the Society would prefer that the Body Shop set a fixed cut-off date for products tested on animals, as several of its competitors have done.

- Roughly one-sixth of Body Shop franchisees have filed complaints with the American Franchise Association (AFA), a high figure but undoubtedly only a fraction of those who are dissatisfied. It is not surprising that few speak out publicly. Franklin Research quoted AFA president Susan Kezios as saying that the Body Shop callers seemed especially "fearful." Another franchisee was reluctant to provide information to the Federal Trade Commission because a provision in the franchise contract prohibits owners from writing, speaking or acting in any way that is "injurious or prejudicial to the good will associated with franchisers' proprietary marks or business."

- The Body Shop has published environmental audits and undertaken some worthy projects, most of which are in England. The company did report its spills in New Jersey—but only after local authorities had investigated them. Edward doesn't indicate what new protections it put in place as a result of those spills. In discussing the company's environmental record, as in most of the other areas, Edward fails to respond to many of the criticisms and questions—such as the effectiveness of the company's highly touted offer to reuse and recycle its plastic bottles.

Franklin Research—whose own investigation largely substantiated the criticisms made in my article—concluded, first, that "through clever public relations, the Body Shop carefully cultivated an image that is inconsistent with the company's sometimes less than impressive performance." Second, the Franklin Research study found fault with how the Body Shop deals with criticism, especially in the press. The Body Shop's "consistent use of character assassination and its habit of assuming motives is offensive and virtually unheard of in our experience," according to Franklin Research. "The Body Shop's bombastic tactics have set back any legitimate attempts by the company to change." ◀

IN PRINT

The power of myth

By Joseph Levine

The mythology that passes for "history" in this country makes it almost impossible for people to see the conflict between Zionism and Palestinian nationalism in a realistic light. Even many of those on the left share the illusions that shape the mainstream debate. Of course—in the wake of Israel's invasion of Lebanon, in the wake of its "broken bones" response to the *intifada*—Israel has used up much of its moral credit in the progressive community. Yet it is still a common view that such brutal behavior is a deviation from an earlier period of humane Zionism, epitomized by such gentle giants as David Ben-Gurion and Golda Meir, an inevitable hardening in the face of years of Arab intransigence.

Looking at current Israeli policy through these tinted lenses, one can't see it for what it is: a continuation of long-held strategies for keeping control of the territories. Such an approach, aimed at controlling as much of Palestine as possible while limiting its indigenous Palestinian population by whatever means are at hand, predates the state of Israel itself.

In recent years, however, thanks to the emergence of a new generation of Israeli historians, breaching the wall of mythology has become easier. One of the most important scholars in this group is Avi Shlaim, whose work—particularly the book *Collusion Across the Jordan*—has brought genuine illumination to the period surrounding the birth of the state of Israel. In *Collusion* Shlaim charts the contorted course of negotiation, collaboration and hostility between the leaders of the Zionist movement and King Abdullah of Transjordan (now Jordan) during the years of Israel's founding. His conclusions directly challenge the mythology promoted so actively (and successfully) by Israel's apologists over the years. "[I]n 1949," he writes, "the Arabs did recognize Israel's right to exist, they were willing to meet face to face to negotiate peace, they had their conditions for making peace with Israel, and Israel rejected those conditions because

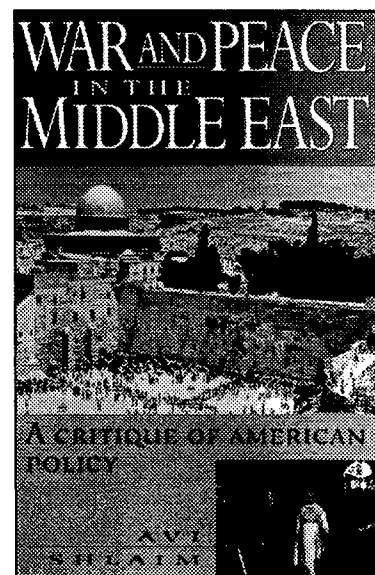
they were incompatible not with her survival as an independent state but with her determination to keep all the territory she held and to resist the repatriation of the refugees."

This is a useful starting point for those trying to make sense of the current controversies. But such historical perspective isn't enough by itself; one needs political perspective as well. History, as those on the left have long argued, is the chronicle of a constant struggle between those with wealth and power and those with neither. The quest to transcend history is precisely the quest to finally bring a just social organization to the world, and begin a new sort of history. If, as the saying goes, "history belongs to the winners," it is the job of those on the left to tell the story of the losers. To do this, we must be clear who is who.

Shlaim's most recent book, *War and Peace in the Middle East: A Critique of American Policy*, reflects the limitations of an honest historian lacking the requisite political perspective to make sense of the events he describes. The book is a short history of the Mideast conflict with a polemical point: that outside forces, from the Ottomans to the Americans, have been largely responsible for the structure of the conflicts in the region. The United States, by backing Israeli expansionism as part of its Cold War strategy, helped to perpetuate the region's divisions—and only by retreating from grand geopolitical considerations to a policy based on the realities of the Middle East can the problems of the region be finally resolved.

The book ends on a cautiously hopeful note. Shlaim sees the Madrid peace process, which culminated in the Oslo accord between Israel and the PLO, as representing the possibility of genuine reconciliation in the region. But, he further argues, the Clinton administration has gone back to the old ways, abandoning a regional orientation for a more strictly "pro-Israel" approach. While Bush held up \$10 million in loan guarantees to protest Israel settlement policies, Clinton has softened the U.S. position, no longer describing settlements as "obstacles" to peace, and referring to the occupied territories as merely "disputed" areas.

After reading Shlaim's thorough study of Israel's birth in *Collusion*, I expected in his



War and Peace in the Middle East: A Critique of American Policy
By Avi Shlaim
Whittle Books/Viking
147 pp., \$17.95



new book a sophisticated and progressive analysis of American policy in the Middle East. But I was disappointed.

While the book is critical of American policy, the terms of Shlaim's analysis are little different from those of the *New York Times* or *Newsweek*. Take, for instance, Shlaim's principal theoretical tool for understanding U.S. policy: his classification of policy-makers as "globalists" and "regionalists." The "globalists," as Shlaim explains it, saw the conflict through the lenses of the Cold War, advocating an "Israel first" strategy because they saw the new country as an aid in the global struggle with the Soviet Union. "Regionalists," by contrast, had a greater understanding and sensitivity to issues particular to the Middle East, and so advocated a more even-handed approach.

But if you even begin to press this distinction it crumbles. The United States is a global power and its policies in the region (as elsewhere) have been a function of its global interests. Whatever debates take place within the policy establishment concerning the Middle East have to do with the best ways to meet America's global goals—particularly its hunger for oil—together with the petty bureaucratic infighting that is a feature of every institution.

I don't mean to suggest that differences didn't exist. The State Department has historically been less avidly "pro-Israel" than the president and Congress. The reasons for this difference have to do partly with the differential influence of the "pro-Israel" lobby on various branches of government, and no doubt also to the greater professionalism

of those in the State Department—who are, after all, required by their job to have some idea of what's really going on in the region.

Yet it's not as if one side in the debate has championed Palestinian rights and the other side favored Israel; rather, the goal of both sides has been to strengthen Israel and the Arab oil states at the expense of both Palestinians and any truly independent or democratic forces in the Arab world. What the different factions have fought about is how best to accomplish this goal. Representing the internal debate as a battle between globalists and regionalists obscures how much the two groups have in common.

Just how severely Shlaim distorts the nature of U.S. policy is best exemplified in his treatment of the Gulf War and developments since. He praises Bush for upholding the rule of law against Iraq, but then notes the inconsistency with U.S. support for the Israeli occupation. He interprets Bush's Madrid policy as an attempt to

bring consistency back to U.S. policy, and lauds Bush for his even-handed approach. The Clinton administration, which is much more rabid in its "pro-Israeli" posture, is then chided for backsliding.

But who with even a modicum of political perspective can see the war against Iraq as a matter of upholding the rule of law? After Vietnam, Chile, Guatemala, Iran, Nicaragua and Panama? And to describe the Madrid approach as "even-handed" is absurd: the terms of engagement in the conference required heavy (and unrequited) concessions on the part of Palestinians—virtually a reward for Israeli intransigence. Israeli concessions—and they are hard to find—have been more a product of the *intifada* than of U.S. insistence.

Shlaim's work, ultimately, demonstrates through its own failures the limits of a historical "objectivity" divorced from a progressive political perspective. *Collusion* demonstrates how far one can get by honest attention to the facts, despite a (probably unconscious) allegiance to the interests of those with power. *War and Peace*, by contrast, demonstrates how easily such an allegiance can overpower even the most stubborn of facts. I see a cause for hope in the first lesson, since it provides motivation to seek accurate information regarding important controversies, as well as to engage in debate with those we wish to convince. The second lesson, however, helps to explain why doing these things is so damn hard. ◀

Joseph Levine is an associate professor of philosophy at North Carolina State University and a member of the Raleigh Coalition for Peace in the Middle East.

Crossing the line

By Eyal Press

On June 4, 1949, Israeli Southern Command Gen. Yigal Allon ordered that from that day forward "every stranger" discovered within a five-mile strip along Israel's borders with Egypt and Jordan would be "shot, without interrogation." This was Allon's way of dealing with the fact that since the end of the 1948 Arab-Israeli war hundreds of Palestinians—the vast majority of them unarmed civilian refugees—had been crossing back into Israel from refugee camps in the Gaza Strip and West Bank. Allon's underlings took immediate notice, killing 93 Palestinians along the southern front in June alone.

Far from being exceptional, one learns from Benny Morris' new book, *Israel's Border Wars*, that such punishment was routinely administered during the eight years between the 1948 and 1956 Arab-Israeli wars. Morris, whose two previous works covered the birth of the Palestinian refugee crisis from 1947-1949, offers a sweeping analysis of Palestinian infiltration into Israel and Israeli retaliation in the aftermath of the crisis, challenging many of the myths that have clouded accounts of this period.

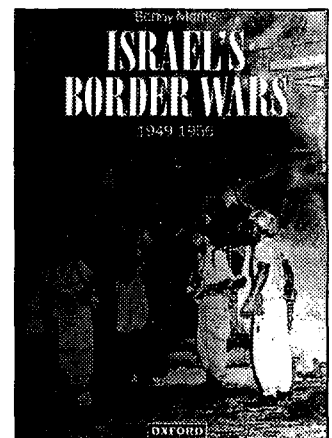
Israeli authorities alleged that the principal source of violence along Israel's borders in these years came from gangs of Palestinian terrorists bent on murder and sabotage. But Morris compiles extensive evidence from U.N. and Western observers, along with internal assessments from Israelis themselves, showing that 90-95 percent of the Palestinians who crossed back into Israel during this period did so for economic rather than political reasons. That is, most of the infiltrators were simply refugees returning unarmed to pick fruit and harvest crops from farms that had, before the 1948 war, been theirs. As an official of the Research

Department of the Israeli Foreign Ministry concluded, "the infiltration is, in most cases, the result of dearth, a separation from sources of income ... and only in rare cases [is it aimed] deliberately at revenge and murder." While infiltration did take a heavy toll on Israel—costing some 240 lives in various border clashes and inflicting extensive economic damage—its roots lay not in irrational Palestinian hatred for the Jews but in the fact that the refugees, as Morris writes, "understandably coveted lost houses, lands, crops and movable goods."

Apologists for Israel have also promoted the myth that the Arab states, primarily Egypt and Jordan—along whose borders the bulk of the infiltration occurred—aided and abetted the process in order to destroy Israel. In fact, as Morris shows, both Egypt and Jordan actively sought to *restrain* such activity. Yehoshafat Harkabi, the deputy director of Israeli Military Intelligence, told a colleague upon personally examining the evidence that "no proof [of Jordanian sponsorship of cross-border infiltration] could be given because no proof existed." Morris, relying primarily on an earlier study of captured Egyptian documents by Israeli military analyst Ehud Ya'ari, makes a similar case for the Egyptians.

Yet Israeli officials were intent, as one Israeli minister explained, "to keep on lying," fabricating "proof" that Arabs were responsible for the border violence in order to justify their own brutal policies. Fearing that the roughly 700,000 refugees of 1948 might return to Israel and resettle, the Israelis initiated a "shoot to kill" policy that left between 2,700 and 5,000 Palestinians dead in the eight-year period, with thousands more injured. In cases where refugees did manage to cross into Israel and resettle, the Israeli army frequently rounded up and expelled the inhabitants.

By 1951, Israel had moved on to a more carefully coordinated "retaliatory" policy, whereby special Israeli army units (including the famous Unit 101, commanded by the young officer Ariel Sharon) were sent on large-scale attacks aimed at punishing whole villages in Jordan, Egypt and Syria—this so that no one in the vicinity would dare cross the lines again. Israeli Gen. Moshe Dayan and Prime Minister David Ben-Gurion were the primary advocates of this policy, in which Foreign Minister (and future prime minister) Moshe Sharett acquiesced, despite deep personal reservations that he expressed only privately



Israel's Border Wars:
1949-1956

By Benny Morris
Oxford University Press
451 pp., \$39.95

in the pages of his diary. Following Israel's brutal October 1953 attack on Qibya (in the West Bank), where soldiers killed 69 Palestinians, the majority women and children, Sharett expressed horror at the magnitude of the slaughter. "I walked back and forth in my room," he wrote, "perplexed and completely depressed, feeling helpless." Ben-Gurion appeared on Israeli Radio the next day to blame the raid on the Transjordan government, which he alleged was encouraging "acts of murder and robbery by armed powers."

Sharett's misgivings about such actions resulted not from his sympathy for the victims of the attack but from his fear that condoning and covering up such atrocities would alienate Israel from the international community and corrode its values. "We have," he noted, "taken off the psychological and ethical brakes on this [retaliatory] instinct," embracing the idea that force could be exercised "in a devastating and highly effective way" regardless of international law and morality. This marked the triumph of Gen. Dayan's desire to maintain the spirit of "a fighting people" among Israelis, turning the country into a modern Sparta that spoke the language of force. By 1955, Israel undertook such raids not only to stop infiltrators from crossing its borders but for political purposes—namely, to provoke Egypt into what eventually became the 1956 Suez War.

Israel did have, according to Morris, a "window of opportunity" for peace-making prior to this second Arab-Israeli war, especially in its relations with Jordan and Syria,

yet Israeli leaders were not interested. After meeting for negotiations with Jordan's King Abdullah in May 1949, Sharett reported: "Transjordan said—we are ready for peace. We said—of course, we too want peace, but we cannot run, we have to walk." On the Syrian front, Ben-Gurion flatly refused Syrian Col. Husni Za'im's startling offer to absorb some 250,000 Palestinian refugees and exchange territory along the Jordan River in return for a separate peace with Israel. Israeli leaders, says Morris, were "remarkably single-minded and rigid" in their rejectionism.

Morris thus documents with unmistakable clarity that, contrary to traditional assumptions, Israel has not always been eager for peace—or reluctant to use force with its neighbors. Unfortunately, Morris seems to waver in his assessment of what this all means. He refrains, for example, from openly identifying the Palestinians as the primary victims of the border wars. His account at times leaves the impression of a "tit-for-tat" sequence of raids and counter-raids that effectively cancel one another out.

In his conclusion, furthermore, Morris appears to draw back from the implications of the history he has presented. On the one hand, he argues, Israel's brutal retaliatory policy led to an Arab response that was "more deadly than anything before it," provoking Egypt's Gamal Nasser into sponsoring raids and seeking a massive Soviet arms shipment that served as a prelude to the Suez War. But further on he asserts that Israeli policy "probably inhibited Arab readiness to express ... hostility." Then he deems the policy "a failure and a success," apparently because Israel won 10 years of quiet along its borders—while exacerbating and deepening the hostility and distrust of its neighbors. Got that?

The effect of such vacillation is to let defenders of the Israeli hard-line off the hook. In the concluding pages Morris notes that, after all, "there was no obvious alternative" to the policy chosen. But history almost never provides an obvious alternative; it instead offers the possibility to re-examine decisions in light of potential alternatives, carefully weighing the costs and consequences of decisions that were made, which is exactly what the bulk of *Israel's Border Wars* convincingly does. Given the Arab peace feelers, the doubts among some Israeli leaders, and the fact that the border problems remain at the core of the Palestinian tragedy and the Israeli predicament, a more crisp and decisive argument *against* the retaliatory policy and the course chosen seems very much in order.

That said, *Israel's Border Wars* should be picked up and read, both for its unquestionably fastidious scholarship and for the provocative questions it raises. One need not agree with every one of Morris' sometimes equivocal conclusions to appreciate the fact that his meticulous research has shed valuable light in a field strewn with polemical distortions and spurious scholarship. ◀

Eyal Press is a New York-based journalist who has written on the Middle East for *The Nation* and *The Christian Science Monitor*.



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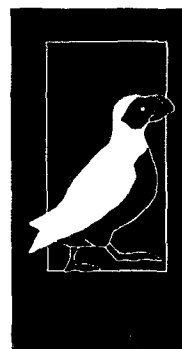
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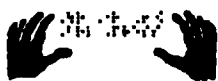
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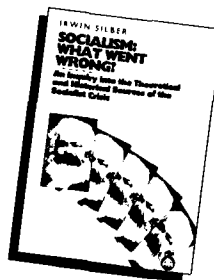
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paing promises, knew that electoral success depended, in the words of New York ward boss George Washington Plunkitt, on getting "a followin'." But I didn't fully face this truth until 2 p.m. on election day, when I finally admitted to a supporter that I was getting crushed.

There had been earlier signs that my opponent's campaign had shifted into overdrive. Motoring through the school district on my way to a morning coffee klatch or an evening neighborhood gathering I could not fail to sense the score, or rather to keep score; a quick count of yard signs made it plain that mine was an uphill struggle. And they were signs in another sense, clearly identifying *who* one's supporters were. Class and status were part of the mix. As friends liked to joke, Miller signs tended to pop up on some of the community's more unkempt lawns; Musselman's were planted amid immaculate landscapes.

The inevitable turf wars broke out, too. Attacks upon yard signs were common—more than 20 percent of the 250 we had placed along the district's byways were damaged. These assaults ranged from benign whackings—benign only in that the signs could be repositioned—to outright theft, which was more common and thus contributed to escalating campaign costs. But the most disturbing incident involved the six signs that went up in smoke. Literally. Probably torched by rampaging high school students—they were burned on the eve of Spring Break—all that remained were the charred stakes. Perhaps it was but a joke, I suggested, a pun on my first name. Wishful thinking, a friend rejoined: "adolescents aren't that clever."

They have nothing on adults in this respect, especially when it comes to gossip and innuendo. No night went by without the report of a fresh rumor. It took two days, and many phone calls, to douse the one that said I had been quoted in a local newspaper advocating a cost-cutting merger

of the high school marching band and orchestra as a way to save money, a report that riled two separate and influential parent support groups. More stubborn were the persistent and contradictory assertions that I only cared for, or didn't care enough about, the community's gifted students. And then came the vile allegation that I had accused my opponent of anti-Semitism.

Not only did I not make the claim, I wouldn't have even if my opponent had been a known anti-Semite—which she wasn't. The community is so deeply Christian that any such statement would undoubtedly backfire. What then was the allegation's function? To finger me as a Jew and thus point out my unacceptability? That's the conclusion one of my block walkers reached when her across-the-street neighbor indicated she was voting for Musselman because she was a "good Christian."

But I didn't lose because I got caught in a cross-fire. No, I was merely an inexperienced campaigner, a real

underdog—an interpretation that frees me to consider another campaign. That's what I told myself as I headed to the August school board meeting, and glad-handed my way around the room. While there, I bumped into a new trustee and asked how he was faring, a foolish question as it turned out. He calculated the endless hours the board had spent cutting an already lean budget, worrying about rising enrollments and holding enervating discussions with residents angry about the construction of portable classrooms that abutted their properties. He had been burning the midnight fluorescent, so no wonder he looked wan, a pallor that prompted a not entirely innocent question: "Have you gotten away to the beach?" He laughed, ruefully.

I laughed with him, but for different reasons. Like a vanquished Richard Nixon, I was tanned, rested and ready. Defeat has its consolations. ◀

Char Miller teaches American history at Trinity University in San Antonio, Texas.



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I N T H E E N D

Down in flames

By Char Miller

I didn't run to win.

Honest. Filing for last spring's school board elections in my suburban San Antonio town had been done with the full realization that I'd get creamed. But I also filed fully expecting that I'd be able to raise fundamental issues about teaching and learning. By that calculation, I could win even while losing, which is probably how most defeated candidates console themselves.

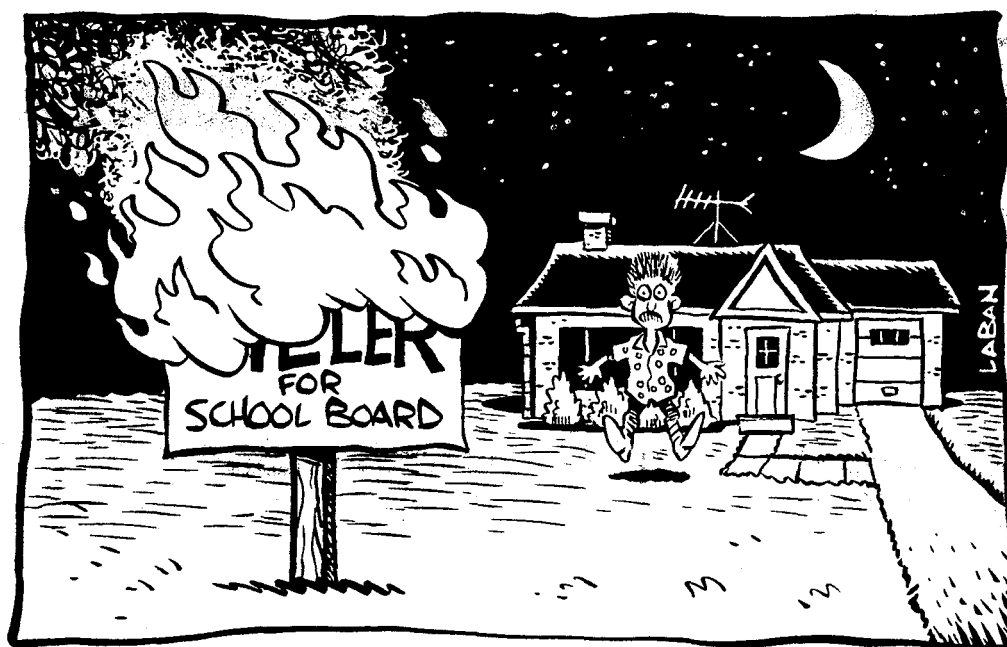
The inspiration for my campaign came 18 months earlier, when a group of parents had sought to censor the school's classroom and library books. Angered that a fourth-grade girl had been upset by a non-required reading in class, they circulated a petition demanding a revision of district procedures governing the school district's selection of books. They also moved to establish guidelines restricting the very words that teachers could utter. The petition, bearing nearly 200 names, had a chilling effect.

Things grew colder still when the petition received a warm reception from board members during committee hearings. If the petition had secured board approval, the administration would have been boxed in and teachers muzzled, hardly a formula for a stimulating educational environment. Just one week before the final board vote a number of us launched a counter petition. While some deluged the administration and board with telephone calls, I spent two

full days gathering support for our petition, and collected more than 300 signatures urging the board to reject the complaint. In the end, the board voted not to impose the guidelines.

Our struggle suggested that both teachers and students needed a staunch defender to support their rights; guess who I thought might best offer that support by serving on the board? My ambition bore the naive assumption that an electoral campaign couldn't be much more complicated or arduous than a successful petition drive. Oh, brave hopes.

In my two-way race for a seat on the Alamo Heights School Board, I lost by a



nearly two-to-one margin, a gap that confirmed my friend Tucker's prediction early in the campaign: "You're in trouble." I had called upon him for counsel, knowing that this cigar-chomping political scientist relished the behind-the-blackboard maneuvering of school board elections. He didn't let me down easy. "It's tough for outsiders to win in Alamo Heights," he observed, noting that a Jewish history professor hailing from Connecticut was not the ideal candidate in our close-knit Texas community. My opponent, Terrie Musselman, a well-connected woman of considerable renown—a former volunteer of the year no less—was well ahead of me in what Tucker considered the most critical factor in local campaigns, "the politics of acquaintanceship." She knew more people than I did, a lot more, and that, Tucker smiled, is "what it's all about."

I knew that personalities were more important than cam-

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